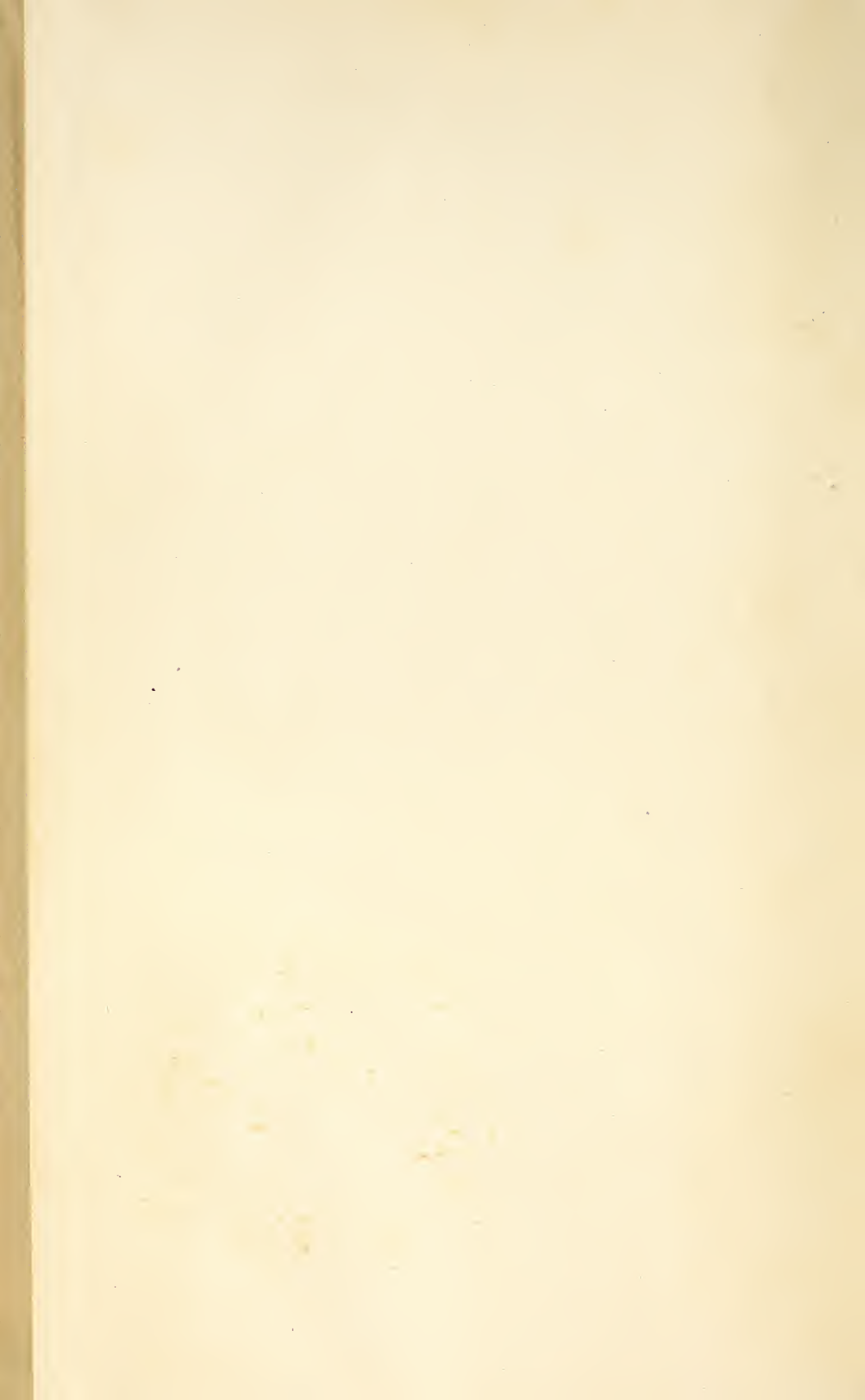


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FOREWORD

THIS issue marks the beginning of the eighth volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Begun during the "depression", it had a struggle to survive, but fortunately has done so until now when its future promises to be secure. That it has survived is due largely to the able co-operation of the Associate Editors, the Managing Editor and to the Contributors of Articles without any monetary reward. It has steadily grown in usefulness. In the seven volumes, covering every part of the Church, there may be found contributions of great value to future generations. And its work is only beginning, for there is an immense mass of material waiting to be published. The special double numbers have met with widespread approval. During this year another one will set forth the history of the evolution of the Constitution and Canons, including the adoption of the American Book of Common Prayer in 1789. The editors bespeak the active interest of all who value the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A larger subscription list would make it possible to increase the number of pages in each issue.

E. Chase Clarke

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (1749-1774)

*By Frank J. Klingberg**

THE co-operation of Sir William Johnson, imperial viceroy to the Indians, as he might be called, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,¹ during the quarter of a century from 1749 to 1774, forms a striking and significant chapter in the use of the mission as an agent of Empire. The crusading strength of the Protestant missionary societies during the last two and one-half centuries has not been as fully assessed as that of the great Roman Catholic orders. The Protestant powers were about a century late in European expansion, and for still another century lacked the very effective assistance of the great present day missionary organizations in meeting their problems with the natives, and in effect proceeded in colonization without the help or hindrance of large scale mission activity. The very fact that English expansion was so largely a joint stock company undertaking, rather than a royal enterprise, doubtless helped, with other factors, to delay missionary effort as a parallel development of penetration into new lands. It is, perhaps, pertinent to recall, in passing, that the English East Indian Company kept all British missionaries out of its part of India for 200 years, until the end of the eighteenth century, in striking contrast to the permission given the Jesuit, Saint Francis Xavier, to survey the whole Portuguese Asiatic Empire, as early as 1541.

Under the circumstances of the time, it was to be expected that in England missionary work would follow the precedent of business enterprise and would take the form of individual initiative or company organization. This fact is strikingly illustrated by the amazing achievements of Thomas Bray, who was largely responsible for the organization of three missionary bodies: The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in 1699; the S. P. G., in 1701; and the Bray Associates in 1723, which together, in scope and longevity, are comparable to the Roman Catholic orders. The purpose of this particular study is to analyze the S. P. G. as a pioneer of Empire in its relationship to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America. It was clear to Johnson that Protestant, and particularly Anglican, Christiani-

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¹Hereafter referred to either as *The S. P. G.*, or *The Society*.

zation was necessary with the Six Nations, not merely as an end in itself, but also as a weapon against French Jesuit penetration from Canada on the one hand, and later against revolutionary religious dissent on the other, as represented, for example, by Wheelock from New England. It will be brought out later that Johnson at first favored Wheelock and New England Congregational and other non-Anglican work among the Indians, but eventually made up his mind that New England dissent represented Revolution against British authority, and then he would have none of it. He therefore came to stand for King and Church, as the King's representative and administrator, and lay champion of the Anglican church as an aggressive member of the S. P. G. The prodigious effort Johnson made to have the Indians Christianized and educated stamps him, even if partly self-interested, as an outstanding proponent of Anglicanism in the British imperial world. The story must be followed with patience because eighteenth century individualism in economics, government, and religious persuasion worked through trial and error, used argument and discussion rather than autocratic orders and imperial instructions. It is always necessary to remember that the new world in which Johnson worked had its large majority of Protestant dissenters, its self-governing assemblies, its pioneering frontier traditions, as well as long range pressure from the loosely knit imperial organizations. Besides, the England of Johnson's time, in point of view and tradition, was a country far removed from the Latin countries, France, Spain and Portugal. The British national government was to a great degree an oligarchy of big business and of great landlords who cloaked their management in the guise of self-government. Big companies in Lombard Street carried commerce to the Seven Seas. These business companies early learned to deal with Indians as tribes rather than as incorporated individuals of the state, in contrast with Spanish policy.²

Inevitably, the bitter wars with France intensified Johnson's interest in religion as an imperial force, and, as early as 1749, he was ready to use Protestant missionary assistance in holding his Indian allies loyally to the British cause. After the French were defeated, as has been intimated, his Anglican preference showed itself in the conflict with Wheelock and the New England contingent.

The minutiae of missionary work among the Six Nations for a quarter century will now be presented, and can be regarded as a "sampling" of the larger effort of the S. P. G. as missionary worker and empire builder. During a short initial experiment from 1704-1719,

²For a penetrating analysis of Spanish missionary work, see Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *The American Historical Review*, Oct. 1917, pp. 42-61.

the Mohawks had been interested in the Anglican faith: (a) through the visits of the Iroquois chiefs to London, and their appearance before the Society where they received red leather bound Bibles; and (b) upon their return, through the erection of a chapel and the settlement of a missionary.³

Although the Society discontinued the Mohawk mission in 1719, sufficient progress had been made among the Mohawks to interest them in the Church of England and to tie them to the English rather than to the French interest.⁴ Determined efforts to convert the aborigines were continued but success was necessarily slow.⁵ At mid-century, stimulated by previous and threatened conflicts with France, and given the active aid of Johnson, the Society became more aggressive, and, in 1756, issued revised imperialistic instructions to all of its missionaries. Even in times of emergency, however, the Society was hampered by lack of funds and by the conviction of many of its members that its first duty was to supply ministers to the white men in the colonies.⁶ Besides, many of the Anglican clergymen, hampered by family and other cares, lacked the adaptability and mobility of the French Jesuits in Canada.⁷ In spite of all this, however, the Society met with not a little success.

Sir William urged and defended his interest in the spread of religion primarily on the practical grounds of good policy. In almost every letter he wrote to the Board of Trade, or to the Secretary of State, he argued that one decisive way to hold the Indians to the English side was to emulate the French method of stationing missionaries among them. Moreover, the Indians having had some contact with the Church of England missionaries in the early part of the century, felt their withdrawal keenly. Sir William, fully aware of this fact, worked to secure missionaries before the Indians might magnify their absence into a serious grievance. Finding that the S. P. G. could not act rapidly, he encouraged members of various Protestant dissenting sects in their work. This was his policy until 1766-1768, after which time he came,

³Pascoe, C. F., *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, 65-71.

⁴McIlwain, C. H. (ed.), *Wraxall's Abridgement of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751*, 1915, pp. xliii-xliv. In this work it is pointed out that the Six Nations found it to their commercial advantage to be on the English side.

⁵From 1727 on, the Society charged the missionary at Albany to care for the Mohawks when possible, and occasionally appointed catechists to live among the Indians. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, 71-73. In this study, the earlier S. P. G. work has been severely summarized and the materials reserved for a later monograph.

⁶Osgood, H. L., *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 32.

⁷Greene, E. B., "The Anglican Outlook on the American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century" in *American Historical Review*, XX (1914-15), p. 72 says, "Perhaps the practical temper of the English missionary was repelled by the slightness of the results in proportion to the energy expended." In October, 1766, Sir William Johnson in writing to the Society, commented on the superior zeal of the Jesuits. *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan 16, 1767.

for political and other reasons, to regard dissenters with suspicion and to depend upon Anglicans.⁸

Johnson's religious zeal in promoting the spiritual welfare of the Indians is not easily analyzed and evaluated. He can hardly be dismissed as an eighteenth century gentleman who took his religion easily and casually, and consequently had no genuine interest in the spiritual welfare of his wards. The extensive correspondence he carried on with the Society and with its missionaries in America, not only on the subject of Indian conversion but also on other religious topics, involved much thought and labor for a man very busy with Indian affairs, land settlement, and political factions in New York. He was so active in religious matters that his word became law with the Society, and the Anglican missionaries outdid themselves in extolling him as a patron of religion.⁹ Doubtless, as his letters show, he was both sincere in his plans for religious progress, and also, at the same time, shrewd enough to realize that evangelical work among the Six Nations would be of distinct political advantage. Stone, an earlier biographer, summed up the situation thusly, "It is not contended that his zeal sprang from those higher and purer principles which actuate the true disciple of Christ, for a Christian in its strict evangelical sense, he was not; but that he earnestly desired a higher toned civilization for the red man, from motives of pure benevolence, cannot be doubted."¹⁰ It is not surprising, then, to find him, from 1749 until his death, July 11, 1774, appearing in the records of the Society as a trusted religious adviser.

Turning now to a detailed account, it may be noted that, in September, 1749, Johnson wrote to Governor Clinton of New York for assistance in procuring a gratuity for Abraham, a sachem of Canajohare,¹¹ who had read prayers to the Mohawk Indians for several years, and also a salary for his son, Petrus Paulus, as a schoolmaster for the Mohawk children. Johnson observed that these marks of attention would please Hendricks, Petrus Paulus' uncle, ". . . who we are all sensible, has been of the most material service during the late war,

⁸Dictionary of American Biography, X, 126. The term dissenter is used throughout the paper for non-Anglican, despite the fact that the Anglican church was not the official church in many of the colonies.

⁹See articles by Young, A. H., "Sir William Johnson, Bart." and "Rev. John Ogilvie" in Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, XXVII, 575-582; XXII, 309 note.

¹⁰Stone, W. L. (Jr.), Johnson, II, 387. See also Dix, History of the Parish of Trinity Church in New York City, I, 234. A. H. Young, in his article on Johnson, objects to Stone's characterization. Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, XXVII, 581.

¹¹The Upper Mohawk Castle, thirty miles from Fort Hunter. It is also spelled Canjoharie, Canajoharee, Canajohary.

. . .¹² Clinton¹³ transmitted this letter to the Society with the explanation that Colonel Johnson had the management of all Indian affairs in New York, and added that the employment of Petrus Paulus would do much for the British interest.¹⁴ In London, the Society after considering the request, wrote to Rev. Henry Barclay, formerly the missionary at Albany, to inquire about Abraham's services to the Mohawks.¹⁵ Barclay replied favorably, so that, on September 21, 1750, one year after the Johnson request, the Society agreed to give the Indian £5 for his past work and to appoint Petrus Paulus as school-master.¹⁶

This affair is interesting, not only because it marks Johnson's introduction to the Society, but also because it shows how slowly, with division of authority and consultative procedure by sailing vessel as carrier, action could be taken. Johnson, on the scene, occupied every day with Indian matters, felt the necessity of more prompt action. Therefore, while for fifteen years, he worked with the Society formulating plans for the Indian instruction, he countenanced the dissenting missionaries, who were already on hand and eager to attempt to teach and convert the natives. New England dissent did not need to wait upon British ecclesiastical approval.

In 1751, Barclay and John Ogilvie¹⁷ wrote to the Society of an attempt on the part of people in Boston to persuade the Mohawks to leave their homes and settle in the jurisdiction of that government, promising to educate the Indian children. The people of New York disliked the idea but Barclay observed that they did nothing to contribute to Indian education within their own borders.¹⁸ In order to stimulate the Society's interest, he mentioned a legacy left by Sir Peter

¹²S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), Series B, Vol. 17, No. 118, Sept. 29, 1749/50.

¹³Governor Clinton was a member of the Society. *Ibid.*, B15, Fo. 94, July 25, 1747.

¹⁴*Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XI, Sept. 21, 1750; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B17, No. 117, Oct. 3, 1749. It should be noted that *Journal* entries are dates on which letters were considered; received possibly several months previously.

¹⁵Henry Barclay was then rector of Trinity Church in New York. He was very active in Indian work during his incumbency at Albany and maintained that interest in the Mohawks all his life. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, 72-73; Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records, XXII, 307 note.

¹⁶S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XI Dec. 15, 1749, Sept. 21, 1750; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, pp. 215-16; B19, p. 8., June 13, 1751—date of letter to Mr. Barclay. It later appeared that, at the time of this appointment, Petrus Paulus had been dead for some time. *Ibid.*, B19, No. 65, No. 72; B20, pp. 34-35; S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XII, July 19, 1751, March 20, 1752.

¹⁷Ogilvie was the missionary at Albany, 1749-1762.

¹⁸S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B19, No. 72; S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XII, March 20, 1752.

Warren¹⁹ for the education of the Mohawk children and hoped that fund would be under the Society's direction, and that the Mohawks would always be under its care.

As a result of this information, the Society, in April, 1752, discussed establishing a school for the Mohawk children. It agreed to write to Johnson and Ogilvie for suggestions and especially for information as to how much aid might be expected from the government of New York in the project.²⁰ This matter, characteristically, proceeded with extreme slowness. The following year the Society wrote to Barclay asking him to advise with Johnson and Ogilvie and to prepare a plan jointly with them.²¹ In 1754, Ogilvie reported that he had not yet interviewed Johnson on the matter because of the latter's absence from home at this time.²² Johnson at this juncture was so engrossed with military matters that he appears to have had no time to consider the matter of Indian education.²³ At least there is no evidence of a meeting with the missionaries or of a letter to the Society relative to the scheme.

In January, 1756, the members of the S. P. G. again considered whether any more effectual means could be found for the conversion of the pagans in America.²⁴ As a result of these deliberations, the Society proposed a plan for educating a few Indian children in the college in New York and also promised £100 a year to the academy in Philadel-

¹⁹Sir Peter Warren was Johnson's uncle and patron. His first contact with the Mohawks came about as a result of his uncle's interest in them. Stone (Jr.), *Johnson*, I, 57-65; Pound, *Johnson of the Mohawks*, 21-32. The Stockbridge, Mass., Indian School utilized £700 of the legacy. *Johnson Papers*, edited by J. Sullivan, I, 353-354. The secretary of the S. P. G. wrote Barclay in 1753 that Sir Peter Warren's death was a great public loss and a particular one to the poor Mohawk children, for he was very zealous in their instruction. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B20, pp. 34-35.

²⁰S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XII, April 17, 1752. See also Kemp, *W. W., Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, 218.

²¹S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B20, pp. 34-35. See also Kemp, *Supp. of Schools in Col. N. Y. by the S. P. G.*, 218.

²²*Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XIII, Jan. 17, 1755. The hope of obtaining the aid of the New York assembly in the project was equally disappointing. In 1754, Barclay wrote home that he had presented the society's request concerning the Indians to the Lieutenant-Governor, who had promised to lay it before the assembly, but nothing had yet been done because of the dispute over a permanent revenue which obstructed all other business. Barclay, however, said he would remind the governor of his promise next spring. *Ibid.*, XIII, Jan. 17, 1755; Ontario Hist. Soc. *Papers and Records*, XXII, 315.

²³Ogilvie wrote to the Society on December 25, 1755, that Johnson was to hold a "treaty" with the Indians preparatory to the intended expeditions (to Lake George and Lake Champlain) and was likely to engage a large number of warriors in the British interest. S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XIII, Nov. 19, 1756.

²⁴S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XIII, Jan. 16, 1756.

phia, and asked the advice of Dr. Samuel Johnson and Dr. William Smith, the respective heads of these institutions.²⁵

With the French and Indian War raging over the world, the Society, in 1756, as stated above, approved new imperialistic instructions for its missionaries in America. Article V urged the clergymen in the colonies to do all in their power to convert the Indians " . . . which good Work is not only pious and Charitable in the more important Views of Religion, but highly beneficial likewise in a Civil View, as promoting the security & Interest of the American Colonies: An Advantage of which our Enemy's are by no means insensible or negligent: . . ."²⁶ They were also charged with recommending " . . . an honest, humane, & Friendly Treatment of these poor people, our ignorant & pitiable fellow Creatures: . . ."²⁷

Finally, in 1758, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a revealing letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson in New York in which he said, "I suspect that we ought to have more [missionaries] upon the frontiers; at least when it shall please God to bless us with a peace. For Missionaries there might counteract the artifices of the French Papists; and do considerable services, religious and political at once, amongst the neighboring Indians; both which points the Society hath been heavily charged, on occasion of the present war, with having neglected."²⁸

So far, then, the Society's success had not been notable. The dissenters, however, showed great energy in Indian missionary work and frequently called upon Sir William²⁹ to assist them in making contacts with the natives. This he was ready to do, considering the work important " . . . as well in a Religious, as a Political Sense."³⁰ With

²⁵For a sketch of Dr. Johnson, see *Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records*, XXII, 307 note, and for a brief notice of Dr. Smith, Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, II, 852. Smith replied the same year and Johnson at the end of 1757. Dr. Smith wrote to Sir William Johnson for his advice in the matter. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIII, Feb. 20, 1756, Jan. 21, 1757; XIV, April 21, 1758, May 19, 1758; Perry, *W. S.*, *Historical Collections Relative to American Colonial Church*, II, 279-280, 562-64, 566. See also a sermon preached by Dr. Smith in May, 1760, on the Conversion of the Heathen Americans, before the trustees and scholars of the academy and convention of the Pennsylvania clergy. Printed in 1760 by W. Dunlop, Philadelphia.

²⁶*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIII, March 11, 1756.

²⁷*Ibid.*, XIII, March 11, 1756.

²⁸*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of N. Y.*, hereafter cited as *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VII, 347.

²⁹Johnson was created a baronet in 1755.

³⁰Johnson *Papers*, III, 586. In 1761 he introduced Samson Occum, an ordained Presbyterian Indian minister to the Oneida Indians. *Ibid.*, III, 585-86; *Proceedings of American Antiq. Soc.*, N. S. XVIII (1907), 37. Acts of Privy Council Colonial (Unbound papers), 342. In 1749 and 1751, Johnson had correspondence with the trustees of the Stockbridge, Mass., Indian School about obtaining Mohawk children for the place. *Johnson Papers*, I, 233-34, 353-54. In 1753 he entertained Gideon Hawley, a member of this dissenting school, during his journey among the Indians. *Documentary History of New York*, III, 630 (All references are to the Quarto edition).

Eleazar Wheelock, a leader in Indian work, who was in charge of the Moor Indian-Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut,³¹ Johnson had an extensive correspondence. The distinguishing feature of Wheelock's plan of educating the Indian boys lay in removing them from their homes to Lebanon for the period of instruction. To this end he asked Johnson's aid in securing Mohawk boys. Johnson was responsible for several attending, including the famous Joseph Brant.³² Wheelock's first success, beginning in 1743, was with Samson Occom, a Mohegan, and this encouraged him to found the Lebanon, Connecticut, school. In 1765, Wheelock sent 10 "graduates" of this school as missionaries and schoolmasters to the Six Nations, who soon reported 127 Indians in attendance at their various schools. In the same year, Wheelock sent Nathaniel Whitaker and Occom to Great Britain where, aided by George Whitefield and others, they raised £12,000, money used later in the establishment of Dartmouth College.³³ Correspondence between the Indian Superintendent and the dissenting school lasted until about 1766-1768,³⁴ when Johnson began to distrust Wheelock's activities as having a political basis.

In fact, this distrust of dissenters may even have begun earlier on Johnson's part, or Wheelock may have feared the political disturbances of the day would cause Johnson to withdraw his support, for in 1765 he wrote, "And as your Excellency's Influence is great at Home, and, in these affairs, greater than any other Man's, May not I use the Freedom to ask for the Benefit of it toward the Support and Progress of this School? I think it will be a great Pity if Party Names, and circumstantial Differences, in Matters of Religion, should by any Means obstruct the Progress of this so great and important Design of Gospelizing the Heathen."³⁵ The success of the Wheelock school, initially aided by Johnson, now stimulated the Society to more ambitious plans.³⁶

The Society, however, as is well known, was regarded by many of the colonists as merely another imperial institution.³⁷ And besides, it

³¹For the origins and aims of the school see *Wheelock's Narrative 1762 in Old South Leaflets*, No. 22; J. D. McCallum, *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, "introduction."

³²*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 197-98, 222-23; *Johnson Papers*, III, 832; Stone (Jr.), *Johnson*, I, 410; II, 173-74; Stone, W. L. (Sr.), *Joseph Brant*, I, 21.

³³Article on Nathaniel Whitaker (1730-1795), *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, pp. 81-82.

³⁴For extent of this correspondence, see, for example, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 201-232 *passim*.

³⁵*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 223. A little later in the same year, further correspondence elicited from Johnson the remark that Wheelock could scarcely expect royal aid for his project as long as the S. P. G. had so small a fund that they could not maintain as many missionaries in the Indian field as they wished. *Johnson Papers*, IV, 812. See *Ibid.*, VIII, 229-31, also *Ibid.*, V, 342-43 concerning the establishment of southern schools.

³⁶McCallum, *Letters of Wheelock's Indians*, 20ff.

³⁷A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate*, *passim*.

was charged with the double task of civilizing and protecting the Red Man and ameliorating the lot of the Black Man. A large white population, doubling every twenty years, through "manifest destiny" was determined to possess the lands of the Indian and the unrestricted labor of the Negro.

To return to the contemporary details of the S. P. G. experiment, by 1766, therefore, the Society decided to copy the Wheelock plan. On July 31, 1766, Thomas Secker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Dr. Samuel Johnson in New York that requests had been made to him and other bishops for approval of and for contributions to Wheelock's Indian School. He had replied that it was intended to set up a similar school, and he hoped that dissenters would support Wheelock's project and churchmen theirs. He had thought, at first, that the Society might support some Indian boys at Wheelock's School, who should later take episcopal orders and work among their people, but, on reflection, it seemed necessary to set up their own school or be charged with the neglect of duty. He requested an early answer and speedy action.³⁸

This letter from the Archbishop, indicating the Society's plans, was really the result of a visit paid by Thomas Barton, missionary in Lancaster, Pennsylvania,³⁹ to Sir William Johnson, in September, 1765. There he talked to Sir William about the Indians and their need of religious instruction. He wrote an account of this visit to the Secretary of the Society, detailing and endorsing Wheelock's methods of civilization and Christianization.⁴⁰ He praised Johnson as a worthy member of the Church of England, and as a man "universally esteemed for his goodness of heart, . . ." Dr. Smith of Philadelphia and Dr. Auchmuty of New York⁴¹ now proposed Johnson for membership in the Society, and on May 26, 1766, the Secretary informed him of his admission to the Society. The Secretary reviewed briefly the Society's efforts for Indian conversion and asked Johnson to suggest ". . . some Scheme of a more extensive Nature."⁴² He mentioned Wheelock's

³⁸Beardsley, E. E., *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D.*, 303-04, 308-310; Schneider, H. & C., *Samuel Johnson, III*, 287-88. See S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 19, for a letter from Samuel Auchmuty telling of the Society's intention of setting up an Indian school.

³⁹For a sketch of Thomas Barton, see *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 229.

⁴⁰Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote to Archbishop Secker that Wheelock had fallen upon the right method of converting the heathen, by civilizing their children and teaching them sedentary pursuits, while at the same time he taught them Christianity. Beardsley, *Life and Corres. of Sam'l Johnson*, 308-09; Schneider, *Samuel Johnson, I*, 380-81. See also *Johnson Papers, V*, 406-07.

⁴¹Perry, *Hist. Coll. Rel. to Amer. Col. Ch.*, II, 403-04. Auchmuty urged the Society to ask Johnson to propose a plan for the establishment of missionaries among the Indians in his vicinity. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, Sept. 19, 1766.

⁴²*Johnson Papers, V*, 221.

project thus, "Mr. Wheelock's design is a noble One, which we rejoyce much in; but this is in a way particular to his own persuasion which tho' we commend highly yet we cannot support in our Contributions, our Benefactions being appropriated to the service of the Church of England."⁴³

In October, 1766, Johnson replied to the Society expressing his pleasure at his admission into the "Venerable Body." He acknowledged that his long residence among the Indians and his special knowledge of them would make his suggestions of value.⁴⁴ He now condemned Wheelock's Indian educational enterprise in the following terms: "Mr. Wheelock's plan seems a laudable one but give me leave to remark that many of these Schemes which had their birth in New England have soon appeared calculated with a View to forming Settlements so obnoxious to the Ind^s who have repeatedly declared their aversion to those who acted on such interested principles; . . ."⁴⁵ Johnson also stated that those Indians ". . . brought up under the Care of Dissenting Ministers became a Gloomy race & lose their Abilities for hunting . . ."⁴⁶

Sir William carefully outlined his own plan, suggesting a mission at the lower Mohawk Castle, which would draw the Oneidas and others. He added that, if the late Dr. Barclay's house and farm⁴⁷ were bought, the missionary's salary might be somewhat lessened. He urged especially that the missionary should reside constantly among the Indians,⁴⁸ and

⁴³*Ibid.*, On the same date the Secretary wrote Wheelock to consult with Sir William about a plan for the Society to adopt. *Ibid.*, V, 222-23, On Oct. 31, 1766, Barton wrote to Johnson for his advice on the plan. *Ibid.*, V, 401-04. From time to time the S. P. G. Journal listed benefactions received. Often these were specifically for work among the Indians. For examples see, S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), VIII, Jan. 16, 1740/41; IX, Oct. 21, 1743; X, Nov. 8, 1745; XIV, March 21, 1760; XVI, March 15, 1765.

⁴⁴Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote to Johnson in 1767 that Sir William's perfect knowledge of the Indians, solicitude for their conversation, etc. made him the best judge of a method for erecting Indian schools. *Johnson Papers*, V, 471.

⁴⁵*Johnson Papers*, V, 389; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 86; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan. 16, 1767.

⁴⁶*Johnson Papers*, V, 389; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 86; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan. 16, 1767.

⁴⁷Dr. Henry Barclay, had, when a missionary at Albany, been granted a tract of land by the Indians in recognition of his services to them. He had improved the property somewhat, and, although the land title remained obscure, Johnson favored the purchase of this property by the Society for the support of a resident missionary. Barclay, before his death in 1764, agreed to sell his interest for £500 currency. In May, 1768, the S. P. G. agreed to purchase the estate, one corner of which was to be allotted to the use of a schoolmaster among the Indians. For the extensive correspondence on this matter see, S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVII, March 18, 1768, May 20, 1768, July 15, 1768; XVIII, Jan. 20, 1769; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 31, No. 88; *Johnson Papers*, III, 366, 589ff., 610; IV, 16-18, 47-48; V, 847; VI, 414-16, 746-47.

⁴⁸As long as the Indian mission was connected with Albany, the natives could not often receive attention from the missionary. See *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 196, 257-58, for excuses sent to Johnson by the missionaries at Albany for not attending to the Indians.

that he would need to lead an exemplary life. He stressed the importance of converting the Senecas⁴⁹ and suggested a mission at Oneida or Onondaga for them where there should be a missionary assisted by a catechist and some qualified Mohawk boys who could act as ushers. He offered, if the King would permit, to ". . . use my Interest with the Indians to obtain a Grant of Lands at a reasonable price for the use of such an Establishment which will in time produce a Revenue sufficient to defray the Expences of so pious an undertaking."⁵⁰

The Society's missionaries and the clergy of New York and Pennsylvania were enthusiastic about Sir William's interest in the problem.⁵¹ In correspondence with his friend, Dr. Auchmuty, of Trinity Church in New York, Johnson further expounded certain parts of his plan. Auchmuty believed that Indian boys destined for the ministry would be more successfully educated away from their home environment, which was, of course, the scheme pursued by Wheelock.⁵² Johnson maintained that the only way to prosecute an extensive plan among the Indians lay in educating them in their own country because of their reluctance to go far from home. His aim was to erect a school where the greatest number might be conveniently reached.⁵³ By this time, then, Johnson had ceased to have sympathy either with Wheelock's theory or practice.⁵⁴

While waiting for a reply from the Society concerning his plan,⁵⁵ Johnson scouted around for proper missionaries for the Indians. Auchmuty wrote that "Great care then must be taken that those [mission-

⁴⁹The Senecas had 1000 warriors and were usually a source of trouble.

⁵⁰Johnson Papers, V, 390; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 86. This plan was sent Oct. 8, 1766 before Barton had consulted with Johnson about the scheme. See Barton's letter of Oct. 31, 1766, Johnson Papers, V, 401-04. In November, Barton informed the S. P. G. that he had written Johnson and expected an early reply. In the meantime he offered his own ideas on Indian education. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 17.

⁵¹Johnson sent a brief sketch of his plan to Dr. Auchmuty. Johnson Papers, V, 392-93. Auchmuty hoped that as a result of Johnson's activity, the Indians would soon be supplied with "... Spiritual Fathers, which both Christianity, and sound policy absolutely require." Ibid., 410. For the address of the convention of the Clergy to Sir William, see Ibid., 433, and for Sir William and Dr. Samuel Johnson on the plan see Ibid., V, 438-41; Schneider, Samuel Johnson, 1, 392-93.

⁵²Johnson Papers, V, 410. Auchmuty feared that Johnson's plan would be too expensive for the Society. He suggested that the S. P. G. petition the government for aid, "Good policy, . . . ought to induce the Government to send a number of clergymen among them [the Indians]" S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 21.

⁵³Johnson Papers, V, 426-29, 438-41.

⁵⁴As early as 1762, Rev. Jacob Oel, a German minister, who acted as one of the Society's catechists to the Mohawks, 1750-1777, was uneasy about the New England plan of taking Indian boys out of their vicinity for instruction. He wrote to Sir William that he feared their designs on the English Church. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 198-99.

⁵⁵Barton wrote in April, 1767, that it was expected that the Society would fix upon the plan suggested by Johnson. Johnson Papers, V, 533. Auchmuty expressed the same idea. Ibid., V, 464.

aries] the Society send should be Men of exemplary behavior and unblemished Characters: but how to obtain such men is, & will be a great difficulty."⁵⁶ He added a list of reasons why such clergymen would not wish to ". . . set down in American wiles [wilds]. . . ." ⁵⁷ Dr. Samuel Johnson expressed the same fear and had no suggestion other than, ". . . but I hope providence will provide. . . ." ⁵⁸

During this same time, Dr. William Smith, in Philadelphia, was engaged in drawing up a plan, providing for the Christianization of the southern Indians as well, which he sent to Sir William for approval.⁵⁹ This particular interchange of letters is important for the light it sheds upon Johnson's views of the Indian response to civilization and Christianity, although the plan itself never matured. On March 16, 1767, Smith sent Sir William the details of his plan. He emphasized the belief that the work should not be allowed to fall into the hands of dissenters but the whole project of conversion should be carried on under the supervision of the British government. Moreover, he maintained that the civilizing process should precede religious instruction and he presented a scheme for joint white and Indian settlement by which this aim would be furthered.⁶⁰ Within a month, Sir William sent a cordial reply. In the main, he agreed with Smith's observations. As to dissenters in Indian work, he stated his position unmistakably: "I am no Enemy to the Memb^{rs} of any Religious persuasion who may from Laudable disinterested motives exert themselves in such a Cause, but I am well aware of the use, or rather Abuse, that some may make of such indulgences, and therefore and for other reasons founded on the principles of sound policy I could wish the Church of England exerted itself therein with a Vigour sufficient to render the attention of other Christians unnecessary."⁶¹ As to Indian settlements for the purpose of teaching them agriculture and other civilized pursuits, Johnson was skeptical. He observed that the Indians of North America had an unconquerable aversion to such occupations ". . . which are indeed inconsistent with their Ideas of Government and policy, . . ." ⁶² He thought that the Indians, in remaining hunters, would be useful in the Society for another century. Finally, he feared the proposed grants of land to further the settlements would arouse

⁵⁶Johnson Papers, V, 466.

⁵⁷Ibid., V, 466. See also S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan. 16, 1767.

⁵⁸Johnson Papers, V, 471.

⁵⁹Ibid., V, 467, 508.

⁶⁰Johnson Papers, V, 510-14. Many of his ideas he seems to have derived from the system used by the Jesuits among the Indians of Paraguay.

⁶¹Ibid., V, 529. See also Ibid., V, 436; VI, 291-94, for similar views expressed at different times.

⁶²Op. cit. V, 530.

suspensions of the natives.⁶³ He concluded by wishing that time and health would permit him to visit New York and meet with Smith and others to exchange views ". . . on a Subject of such Great & Genl. Importance as well Civil as Religious."⁶⁴

By the summer of 1767, the Society took official notice of Johnson's recommendations for the Northern Indians and, through Dr. Auchmuty, informed him of their approval. They agreed to appoint missionaries and catechists for the Indians as soon as proper persons could be secured, and they offered a larger salary than was customary to men undertaking this work. Johnson advised £70 sterling per year and a glebe. The usual S. P. G. salary for missionaries was £40 sterling.⁶⁵ In December, 1767, the Society also decided to give an allowance, £150 per year, for the establishment of one school for ten Indian boys on the Mohawk river. This school was to be under Sir William's supervision and he was asked to procure a schoolmaster for it.⁶⁶

Early the next year, the Secretary of the Society wrote to Sir William that the members hoped to see some part of the plan put into effect immediately. He reported, however, that Dr. Auchmuty, who had interested himself in obtaining a missionary, had so far been unsuccessful.⁶⁷ He ended by assuring Johnson that "The Society are ready to concur to the utmost extent of their abilities to carry on so beneficial a design; tho' indeed their income is far too scanty . . . to forward it in the manner they wish."⁶⁸

⁶³Smith later expressed the hope that hunting could gradually be combined with more settled pursuits. *Johnson Papers*, V, 568-70. See also *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Aug. 21, 1767; Perry, *Hist. Coll. Rel. to Amer. Col. Ch.*, II, 415.

⁶⁴*Johnson Papers*, V, 532. Smith, Barton, and Auchmuty were not blind to the material aspect of their correspondence with the Indian Superintendent for each requested him to assist in obtaining grants of land. *Ibid.*, V, 530-31; VII, 4-5; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 252.

⁶⁵*Johnson Papers*, V, 553-54, 622-23; *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan. 15, 1768; *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 23; *Johnson Papers* VI, 292.

⁶⁶The Society allowed the schoolmaster Colin McLeland, £25. *Johnson Papers*, V, 846-47; VII, 290-91; *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, March 17, 1769; *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.) B2, No. 90. Professor Kemp in his study of the *Support of Schools in Colonial New York* by the S. P. G., 204-06, 225-28, discusses the Society's schools for Indians in the Mohawk country.

⁶⁷See *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVII, Jan. 15, 1768, for Auchmuty's letter to the S. P. G. on the problem of missionaries. This letter of the Society to Johnson was probably an answer to one of Johnson's, of December, 1767, in which he cited Indian complaints at the lack of a missionary, the importance of the field, and the necessity for good missionaries. *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 88. For other letters of Johnson's on the question of procuring missionaries, see *Johnson Papers*, V, 695-96, 755; VI, 11-13.

⁶⁸*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, 237. Barton, in a letter to the S. P. G. October, 1768, said he continued to correspond with Sir William on the subject of Indian schools. *S. P. G. Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Dec. 16, 1768; *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 18. Almost a year later he wrote again saying that Johnson was impatient to have his plan put into execution. *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 21.

Meantime Wheelock had heard of the Society's intention to set up a mission and school among the Indians and wrote to Johnson about the matter. The former feared with reason that the Society's plans would mean the extinction of his own projects. Johnson replied, confirming the Society's aim to establish a clergyman in the Mohawk country. He would continue to support Wheelock when necessary from the conviction that Wheelock's work would be dictated by a disinterested zeal and prudence. He, moreover, assured the New Englander that the Society approved all efforts which were inspired by principles of charity and not made in an attempt to prejudice the Church of England.⁶⁹

Wheelock's fears, seemingly, were not eased by Johnson's letters, and he, therefore, gave up the hope of Johnson's continued support. His activities became apparent when Sir William negotiated the treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Indians in November, 1768.¹ At that time Johnson found, besides his usual difficulties in handling the Indians, that the New England missionaries, directed by Wheelock, were working in opposition to him, trying to persuade the Indians not to cede their lands.⁷⁰ Johnson wrote at length on this unfortunate experience both to the Society and to the government, because the situation gave him a favorable opportunity to point out the necessity of the Society and the home government working together for the conversion of the Indians to Anglicanism.

To Governor Thomas Penn on November 18, 1768, he explained that two missionaries, sent by Dr. Wheelock, delivered a memorial to him to reserve the Indian lands for religious purposes, and also busied themselves among the Oneidas to prevent them from granting the land asked for by Johnson.⁷¹ To the Society he wrote, "The Arguments they made use of in private amongst the Ind^s. their misrepresentations of our Religion, & the Extraordinary private Instructions of Mr. Wheelock, of wch I am accidentally possessed would shew them in a

⁶⁹Johnson Papers, V, 683-85. A short time later he wrote to Wheelock that the Society still intended to work among the Six Nations but the difficulty lay in finding proper missionaries for the work. Ibid., V, 779-80. Meantime in a letter to Auchmuty, Johnson mentioned the applications and solicitations to himself in favor of missionaries from New England and wished the English Church could then take advantage of the favorable opportunity to start work among the Indians. Ibid., V, 695-96.

⁷⁰N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 122.

⁷¹Johnson Papers, VI, 472. An abstract of this letter is in the Proceed. of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., New Ser., XVIII, 391-92. For his accounts to Auchmuty, see Johnson Papers, VI, 464-65, 542-44. See Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 249-50, for his letter to General Gage on the matter. Gage replied, "I always apprehended those Missionaries whom you mention, had Lucre more at Heart than Religion. . . ." Johnson Papers, VI, 513. See also Ibid., VI, 590. For the activities of the missionaries and their memorial to Johnson, see Doc. Hist. of N. Y. IV, 244-48.

very odd Light, . . ."⁷² He requested that this information be held in confidence, for, if the matter were made public, it would draw upon him much abuse from the dissenters, of which they were very free when their schemes were attacked.⁷³ In the same month, Auchmuty expressed his views in reply to Johnson's account of the Fort Stanwix affair. He was confident the Society would do everything recommended by Johnson for the benefit of the Indians, and that some worthy clergyman would be sent among them before their ". . . Religious principles are debauched by the stupid Bigots that Wheelock is continually turning too [sic] among them."⁷⁴ In the course of the same letter he referred to one of "Wheelocks Cubs" and said ". . . Surely such Wretches ought not to be suffered to go among the Indians."⁷⁵ He asked Sir William's permission to send an account of their work to the Society. ". . . They will then see the absolute Necessity of sending Missionaries &c, if they have not already, among the Indians . . ."⁷⁶

So far Johnson's contacts with the Society and its clergy in America were chiefly in the field of general plans and methods for Indian conversion. He now gave his attention as well to many details of the project to convert the Six Nations to the Church of England, recommending the appointment of missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters. He planned a church building at his new village of Johnstown, whose clergyman was to be supplied by the Society.

Johnson, for example, was interested in the work of Cornelius Bennet [or Bennett], who acted as one of the Society's catechists among the Mohawks from 1761-1766. Fifty years old when he decided to work among the Indians, and highly recommended to the Society,⁷⁷ Johnson encouraged him, received him in his home, and arranged a

⁷²Johnson Papers, VI, 530. See also S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, April 20, 1770.

⁷³Johnson Papers, VI, 530. Evidently Johnson had no wish to become embroiled in the political confusion of the time. A letter from Johnson to William Franklin, June 1769, indicates he was still disturbed by the activities of these dissenting missionaries, see Illinois Historical Collections, XVI, 546. In January, Joseph Chew, a friend of long standing, wrote to Johnson that he heard in the Connecticut General Assembly, that Johnson had ordered all dissenters out of the Indian country and would allow none but the Church of England men to preach to them. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 253. This was probably a reverberation of the Fort Stanwix dispute.

Although Wheelock wrote an elaborate eulogy of Johnson in May, 1768, Johnson Papers, VI, 237, the correspondence seems to have ceased after the Fort Stanwix treaty. For one obscure exception, see McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, "introduction" and pp. 20ff., on this rift.

⁷⁴Johnson Papers, VI, 455.

⁷⁵Ibid., VI, 457.

⁷⁶Ibid., VI, 457.

⁷⁷S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XV, Feb. 19, 1762; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 79. He received a salary both from the S. P. G. and from the London Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. Johnson Papers, IV, 442.

meeting with the Indians there.⁷⁸ Bennet progressed slowly in his work and his sponsors hoped his efforts would soothe the "wild . . . tempests" of the natives and dispose them favorably to the British.⁷⁹ He left the Mohawks in 1765 because of a smallpox epidemic, intending to return, but died the next year.⁸⁰ Sir William, although ready to support him, did not believe that Bennet's work would solve the problem of instructing the Indians. He wrote to Barton in 1766 that ". . . Mr. Bennett, . . . seems to be an honest, well meaning Man, but quite unequal to the Task, not knowing how to keep them in order, & so Timorous that he fled from the Smallpox. . . ." ⁸¹ He repeated that an ordained resident minister alone would impress the Indians and meet with any success.

Johnson also kept in close touch with Dr. John Ogilvie, who was the Society's missionary at Albany from 1749 to 1762, charged with the duty of ministering, when possible, to the Mohawks.⁸² An exceptionally able man, with a clear understanding of the difficulties of Indian conversion, and a keen sense of the value of the English-Indian alliance, his services at Albany were interrupted unfortunately by the French and Indian War in which he served as chaplain, both to the Royal American Regiment and to the Mohawks.⁸³ He advocated the education of the Indian children as the best means of civilization.⁸⁴ On May 20, 1760, Dr. Ogilvie wrote home an analysis of his work. "I could wish that I could say, consistent with the truth, that the propagation of the gospel among the natives of this Continent, was attended to by the leading men of this country, with that zeal and application, the

⁷⁸*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.* IV, 199; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B22, No. 72.

⁷⁹*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVI, July 20, 1764, Jan. 25, 1765; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B22, No. 12. See Kemp, *Supp. of Schools in Col. N. Y.* by S. P. G., 222-23, for the subjects taught by Bennet.

⁸⁰*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B22, No. 71, No. 73; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVI, Nov. 15, 1765; XVII, Sept. 19, 1766.

⁸¹*Johnson Papers*, V, 437.

⁸²For a detailed sketch of Ogilvie's life and correspondence see *Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records*, XXII, 296-337. See also *Johnson Papers*, II, 85 note. He was recommended to the Albany mission by Henry Barclay and others. See *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, Feb. 17, 1748/49; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B16, No. 71; B17, No. 115, No. 199.

⁸³Writing to the S. P. G., on Feb. 1, 1760, about the expedition to Niagara, he mentioned the Mohawks and other Indians in the army and stated that he officiated to the Mohawks and Oneidas who regularly attended divine service, "I gave them exhortations suitable to the emergency, . . ." *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 105.

⁸⁴For his views on Indian education and Christianization, see *Ibid.*, B20, No. 55-56; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XII, Dec. 21, 1753; XIII, Nov. 19, 1756; XV, Nov. 21, 1760. For the work of Rev. Jacob Oel see *Ibid.*, VII, Dec. 17, 1736; IX, Oct. 19, 1744; XI, May 20, 1748, July 20, 1750; XII, Nov. 15, 1751; XV, March 19, 1762, Dec. 17, 1762; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B16, No. 46; B16, No. 243; B17, No. 114. See also *Ont. Hist. Soc. Papers and records*, XXII, 311 note. Ogilvie sent home some interesting reports as to the activities of dissenters and French priests among the Indians, *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, Jan. 18, 1750/51; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B18, Nos. 102-103; B19, No. 71.

importance of the subject demands. They do nothing to oppose it, but I really can't say that I ever met with any actual Countenance in this service from any of them, excepting *Sir William Johnson*, who, . . . has been very much my patron and friend, which has been of no small consequence to me among the Indians."⁸⁵

The appointment of Rev. John Stuart to the Mohawk mission at Fort Hunter in August, 1770,⁸⁶ was the culmination of the Society's project of setting up a mission among the Indians. He had been recommended by the leading clergymen of Pennsylvania to Johnson and endorsed by him.⁸⁷ He arrived at his mission early in December, and, in 1771, began work at once, with marked success.⁸⁸ Both the Indians and Sir William were pleased with him and the latter wrote to Barton that "'Mr. Stuart has been sometime at his Mission where he is much esteemed not only by the Indians, but by the English and Dutch inhabitants. . . .'"⁸⁹ He had, therefore, great hopes from his appointment.

Stuart, writing to the Society in June, 1771, reported the disrepair of the Mohawk chapel.⁹⁰ Early in the next year he requested a new Prayer Book and a new Bible, which the Society agreed to send him. He said that Sir William had had the chapel repaired with a new floor and provided a new pulpit, reading desk, communion table, windows and a belfry as well as a bell for the latter, and said further that

⁸⁵S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 106; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIV, Aug. 15, 1760. In 1756 Johnson asked the Board of Trade to augment Ogilvie's salary, in view of his efforts to promote religion among the Mohawks, N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 43. See Ibid., IV, 195, for a letter from Ogilvie to Johnson on military affairs around Albany and S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIII, Nov. 19, 1756, for marks of favor shown Ogilvie by Johnson.

⁸⁶Re the Johnson contacts with Rev. Harry Munro, missionary at Albany, 1768-1775, and Rev. William Andrews, missionary at Schenectady, 1770-1773, see for Munro, S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, Jan. 3, 1767; B3, No. 269; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Nov. 18, 1768, May 19, 1769, Oct. 20, 1769; Johnson Papers, VII, 265-66, and for Andrews, Ibid., VII, 239-40, 281-83, 300-01; Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 263, 264-65, 292-93, 295-96. Neither of these men was of the caliber of Ogilvie and Stuart. Nevertheless, Johnson supported and encouraged them.

⁸⁷S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 91, No. 92; B21, No. 22, No. 226; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Aug. 17, 1770. Johnson Papers, VII, 516-17, 517-19, 543, 840-41.

⁸⁸S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 203; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XXI, Jan. 19, 1776. After the Mohawks moved to Canada in 1777, Stuart followed in 1780, settled in Montreal and continued to preach to them once a month until transferred to Upper Canada. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 205. Young says that Molly Brant, Sir William's Indian "housekeeper" was a parishioner of Stuart's at Fort Hunter and later in Upper Canada. See Ont. Hist. Soc. Papers and Records, XXVII, 577. For memoir of Stuart, see Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 313-22.

⁸⁹S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 24. See also Ibid., B2, No. 66, No. 196; Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 277; Perry, Hist. Coll. Rel. to Amer. Col. Ch. II, 450, 454.

⁹⁰S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 197; see Stuart's notitia parochialis, Ibid., B3, No. 7.

" . . . gratitude obliges me to acquaint the Society, that Sir William does everything in his power to render my life agreeable, and my ministry useful, . . ."⁹¹ Stuart had difficulties with the language, and although he set about at once to learn the Mohawk tongue, he was forced for some time to use an interpreter.⁹² He informed the Society that the Indians wanted books in their own language. He, therefore, started to translate some tracts for them which he hoped to have ready for the press by the next summer. Johnson, he stated, had agreed to have them printed as soon as they were ready.⁹³ Sir William, however, died before this was accomplished.

During these years Johnson's growing personal importance in the community was reflected in his successive and increasingly stately residences, Fort Johnson, Mount Johnson, and Johnson Hall. The last of these was part of a semi-manorial estate upon which he settled families and encouraged the growth of the village of Johnstown, close by his own residence. As part of his interest in this project, he built a church and school⁹⁴ in the village, and, in 1767, applied to the Society for the appointment of a clergyman to officiate there to make his plan complete.⁹⁵ Sir William was very definite as to the type of clergyman he wanted for his village, ". . . a Man of an affable winning Disposition, of a Middle Age, Zealous in the Discharge of his Duty, & of an exemplary life, as distant from Gloominess as from Levity."⁹⁶ He added that, although he hoped the Society could pay the salary in consideration of his expense in erecting the buildings, rather than let the plan drop, he himself, if necessary, would pay £30 per year which, with other con-

⁹¹*Ibid.*, B2, No. 198; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, April 10, 1772.

⁹²*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 199, No. 200; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, Nov. 20, 1772; XX, May 20, 1774. In 1773, his interpreter weary of confinement and regular living, had left him. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1773. See also *Ibid.*, XX, Oct. 15, 1773.

⁹³Stuart's tracts included an abridged history of the Bible, a "large and plain explanation" of the church catechism and some chapters out of the Gospels concerning the birth, life and crucifixion of Christ, *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 200. After Johnson's death, Stuart wrote to the Society about the disposal of the MSS. The Society took over the work of having Stuart's translations checked for accuracy and finding out how many copies Stuart wanted printed. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XX, Dec. 16, 1774.

⁹⁴In a letter to Barton written in 1766, Johnson wrote ". . . my Stone Church is finished a pretty Snug Building . . ." *Johnson Papers*, V, 436.

⁹⁵*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, Feb. 20, 1767. He promised to contribute toward the clergyman's salary and to furnish him with a house and glebe. He pointed out that the many Indians visiting him and living near his estate would profit greatly by the presence of a minister there. Johnson wrote to Auchmuty in November, 1776, of his hope of having a missionary for Johnstown. *Johnson Papers*, V, 426-29.

⁹⁶*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, Feb. 20, 1767. Barton approved highly of Johnson's description of what constituted a suitable clergyman. *Johnson Papers*, V, 845-46.

tributions, would bring the income up to £60. The Society agreed to appoint a missionary such as Sir William described.⁹⁷

Johnson experienced the same difficulty and delay in obtaining a minister for Johnstown as he had in securing an incumbent for the Mohawk mission, and, therefore, much of his detailed correspondence with the New York clergy on the difficulties of securing missionaries for work in the Indian country related to Johnstown as well as to Fort Hunter.⁹⁸ In the spring of 1769 he wrote, "It is [a] matter of much concern to me to find that After building a Church & Parsonage house & being at other great Expences to forward the Establishmt of a Missionary where he is so much Wanted, I should still be without one. . . ."⁹⁹ In 1771, he still complained he could find no one for the mission at Johnstown.¹⁰⁰

Of all the attempts to secure a missionary for Johnstown,¹⁰¹ the one to interest Samuel Seabury is the most interesting. Seabury¹⁰² was the Society's missionary in East and West Chester, New York. After the American revolution, as is well known, he became the first American Episcopal bishop, in 1784. He was considered by his colleagues as the outstanding missionary in the American colonies and it is a tribute to the position which Johnson held with the Society that efforts should have been made to move Seabury to the Johnstown mission. In November, 1767, Myles Cooper,¹⁰³ speaking for the clergy as a body, in recommending him to Sir William, described him as ". . . a Man of great good Sense, of a cheerful Disposition, and has a mod-

⁹⁷*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, Feb. 20, 1767. It is to be assumed that, with the decision to make the appointment, the Society agreed to pay the salary, but the Journal omits this item. See also *Johnson Papers*, V, 413-15, 436, for other correspondence on this matter. For the application of one Thomas Bate-man of Boston, Lincolnshire, England, for this position see *Ibid.*, VI, 190-92, 329-31.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, VI, 291-94. In December, 1768, he wrote to Dr. Auchmuty that Mohawk Castle, Johnstown, and Schenectady were still vacant and he saw no prospect of their being speedily filled. *Ibid.*, VI, 544. Auchmuty replied that he continued his efforts to find missionaries and schoolmasters. On this subject he noted, "I have no late Advices from the Society of any Consequence. Their Secretary I fear eats too much roast Beef & pud'in." *Ibid.*, VI, 685-86. See a letter from Auchmuty to Johnson, January, 1768, which shows the scope of his efforts to aid Johnson, *Ibid.*, VI, 77-79.

⁹⁹*Johnson Papers*, VI, 711, 745. The Rev. Oel, still acting as a catechist to the Mohawks in 1770, believed the Indians were losing their interest in religion but hoped things would have a better aspect when a minister should arrive for the church which Sir William had built. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII Oct. 19, 1770.

¹⁰⁰*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 284.

¹⁰¹For correspondence relating to these efforts see *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII, March 16, 1770; *Johnson Papers*, VI, 517-18, 542-44, 544-46, 745; VII, 390-91, 516-17; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 375.

¹⁰²For a sketch of Samuel Seabury, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 528-30.

¹⁰³Myles Cooper was President of King's College in New York and a member of the S. P. G., though not one of its missionaries. See *Ont. Hist. Soc. Papers and Records*, XXII, 333 note.

erate Family— . . . He is the most suitable person We know of to live at Johnstown, and it is our Opinion that he would give You great Satisfaction.”¹⁰⁴ Johnson, upon such testimony, hoped to secure him, but Seabury, after some correspondence and reflection, seems to have felt that the position was uncertain in the event of Sir William’s death. Although he had the Society’s permission to make the change, this and the small salary made him hesitate.¹⁰⁵ Auchmuty informed Johnson, in June, 1769, that Seabury “. . . is chargreened at the Salary the Society propose, which he thinks is much to small. . . . I am trying all I can to prevail upon him to pay you a Visit; . . .”¹⁰⁶ Seabury shortly did so and was thus able to look over the location, but Johnson was away from home at the time and the two men failed to meet. Auchmuty urged the Society to increase the salary and Seabury himself suggested joining the Mohawk mission with Johnstown in order that he might have a suitable salary. To this last, Sir William objected and evidently the Society’s financial condition at the time prevented an increase in the allowance for the missionary. Thus the matter came to nothing.¹⁰⁷

Finally, in 1772, Johnson reported to the Society that he had secured Mr. Richard Mosely (or Mozley) for the mission at Johnstown and had considerably enlarged the church building.¹⁰⁸ Mosely served there until May, 1774, when ill health forced him to leave. The mission was not refilled at the time of Johnson’s death a few months later. Mosely, upon leaving, wrote to the Society that “The only thing I re-

¹⁰⁴*Johnson Papers*, V, 781. For Johnson’s inquiries about Seabury’s decision and his desire to have an interview with the missionary, see *Ibid.*, VI, 293-94., 544, 685.

¹⁰⁵S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 159; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVII, May 20, 1768; XVIII, Jan. 20, 1769. See also *Johnson Papers* V, 800-01 for Auchmuty’s letter, of November, 1767, to Johnson in regard to Seabury. The next year in a letter to the Society, Auchmuty said that Seabury then seemed adverse to go to Johnstown, and added that he did not know how Sir William would get supplied. S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Jan. 20, 1769. See also *Ibid.*, XVII, March 18, 1768.

¹⁰⁶*Johnson Papers*, VII, 4. See also *Ibid.*, VI, 456. In 1768 Seabury had thought of making a visit to Johnson. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 31; *Johnson Papers*, VII, 25, 53, 169.

¹⁰⁷S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Oct. 20, 1769, Dec. 15, 1769; *Johnson Papers*, VII, 212-13, 282; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 280-81. Mr. Murray, the S. P. G. missionary at Reading, Pa., had been recommended for the place by the Pennsylvania clergy in 1768 and described as “. . . not overburdened with Zeal but is a Gentleman of good Sense & sprightly Conversation—” *Johnson Papers*, VI, 521. Johnson did not consider him because he had already approved of Seabury and hoped to secure him.

¹⁰⁸It was most unusual for the Society to permit a layman to choose a missionary in this fashion and merely report his action to the Society. See S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIX, Dec. 18, 1772. See also *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 295-96, 299. The rebuilt church was 90 feet long, had a chancel and a steeple and Sir William added an organ which cost him £100 sterling. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 94. In a letter to Barton in 1771, Johnson remarked that his church, when completed, would hold 1000 people. *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.* IV, 274

grett . . . is to go from so worthy and good a man as Sir William Johnson . . . ¹⁰⁹

Johnson, both as the Indian Superintendent and as the chief man of the region, had a keen interest in encouraging the Mohawk Indians at Canajohare as well as those at Fort Hunter to maintain their interest in the English Church. To this end, he erected a chapel for them there. At first he hoped to obtain money by means of subscriptions for this purpose from the Church of England people in the colonies, especially in New York and Pennsylvania.¹¹⁰ When this plan failed, he took upon himself, in 1770, the cost of the erection of the building.¹¹¹ The church was completed in the summer of 1770. Johnson asked Rev. Harry Munro, the Society's missionary at Albany, to preach there on June 17, the church ". . . being quite finished, & they [the Indians] all returned from Hunting."¹¹² Sir William wished for the Society's appointment of a schoolmaster and catechist to reside constantly among the Indians at Canajohare. This the Society agreed to and Mr. Hall, recommended from Philadelphia, was appointed in 1770. He, however, never arrived at his post, much to Johnson's disappointment,¹¹³ which, as he wrote two years later, made the church he had built there more or less useless.¹¹⁴ The next year he sent a schoolmaster there at his own expense in order to keep the Indians well disposed.¹¹⁵

One of the interesting sidelights of Sir William's interest in the spiritual state of his Indian neighbors, even before his admission to the Society, was the preparation of a new edition of the Mohawk prayer book. In this work he was assisted by his son-in-law, Daniel Claus. He also corresponded with Ogilvie and Barclay in Albany and New

¹⁰⁹S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B23, No. 427; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XX, June 17, 1774.

¹¹⁰Johnson Papers, VI, 563-64; VII, 516, 518.

¹¹¹Ibid., VII, 543; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 24; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIX, Oct. 18, 1771. The building cost £459. He wrote that he had been promised the assistance of others in erecting the church . . . But the times did not admit of it, . . . " Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 269.

¹¹²Johnson Papers, VII, 720. For an interesting account of the sermon Munro preached there, see S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, Sept. 25, 1770; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIX, March 15, 1771; Johnson Papers, VII, 962-63 note. Stuart, who took the Mohawk mission in 1771, told of preaching there in the church built by Sir William. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 197.

¹¹³S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 24, No. 226; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Aug. 17, 1770; XIX, Oct. 18, 1771. Johnson Papers, VIII, 257-58, Stuart reported that the Indians at Canajohare were very anxious for a minister of their own. A native reader officiated on Sunday, and the Indians, through Stuart, asked for an allowance for him. The Society agreed to grant him £5 per year if Sir William approved. S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XX, May 20, 1774, March 17, 1775; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 198.

¹¹⁴S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIX, Dec. 18, 1772; Johnson Papers, VIII, 928.

¹¹⁵S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 94. He asked the Society for some school books. The S. P. G. agreed to send a number and inquired of him what ones were most wanted. S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XX, Feb. 18, 1774; Kemp, Supp. of Schools, in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G., 227 note.

York about the work.¹¹⁶ Much of his interest is revealed in a letter he wrote to Barclay in 1763 asking as to the progress of the volume, observing that the prayer book was “. . . much wanted, & greatly enquired after by the Indians.”¹¹⁷ He hoped the new edition would make the already Christianized Indians think favorably of the Established Church, “. . . which will have a better effect upon them than what I see arises from their inclination to the Presbyterian as all those Ind^s. who are Instructed by the Dissenting Ministers, . . . have imbibed an air of the most Enthusiastical cant, . . .”¹¹⁸ In theory and in practice, Johnson now emphatically wished the established faith of the British government, represented by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to be the only one promulgated among the natives. As late in his life as February, 1774, he wrote to Rev. Henry Caner,¹¹⁹ of Boston, that he was trying to write a short history of the Bible which would contain a brief “. . . historical deduction of facts & incidents in a regular & well connected order, . . .”¹²⁰ which work he thought would be useful to the Indians.

The story of his efforts to obtain the creation of an American episcopate is worthy of additional detailed study. However, Johnson's cooperation with the colonial clergy in this agitation can only be briefly noted here as another aspect of his relations with the Society and his concern with religion from the standpoint of good policy. Particularly, after his admission to the Society, he became outspoken in favor of an American bishop. He realized, along with many of the colonial Church of England clergy, that the growth of the church in the colonies was hampered by its distance from the parent institution. Moreover, he believed a bishop in America would insure a more vigorous attention to Indian conversion. He, therefore, offered 20,000 acres of land to be equalled by a similar grant to be obtained by the Society from the crown for the support of the episcopate. This offer overwhelmed the

¹¹⁶Johnson Papers, III, 355, 363, 630. *The Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, *passim*, has many references to Johnson's interest in the matter, the preparation of the book, its printing in 1769, etc. See N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 815-17, for a long "note" on the translation of the Prayer Book into the Mohawk language. This work should not be confused with the tracts translated by Stuart at Fort Hunter which Johnson agreed to have published.

¹¹⁷Johnson Papers, IV, 72.

¹¹⁸Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII, pp. 42-61, October, 1917.

¹¹⁹Rev. Henry Caner, called the "Father of the American Clergy," was the Society's missionary in Fairfield, Conn., and later officiated at King's Chapel in Boston. He was outstanding among the Society's missionaries in New England. See Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, II, 853.

¹²⁰Proceed. of Amer. Antiq. Soc., New Ser., VIII (1907), 400-01. He also thanked Caner for a copy of the church service in the Mohawk tongue which the latter had sent to him. See also Johnson Papers, VIII, 1039-40.

Society's missionaries with gratitude.¹²¹ The Society directly acknowledged his offer in 1769, reporting that the Archbishop of Canterbury had presented a memorial to Lord Hillsborough¹²² for advice as to the presentation of a petition to the crown for the proposed grant of lands. At that time of writing, the Society had received no reply, but hoped Johnson would send a description of the lands to be applied for.¹²³ The next year the Secretary of the Society wrote to Johnson saying that the Society had not progressed one step in the affair.¹²⁴ The project came to nothing because the government failed to support it. Having difficulty enough with its new policy of imperial control after 1763, the ministry feared to ignore the protests of all the dissenting groups which objected to the erection of an episcopate as a further insidious evidence of control. In brief, an episcopate would cost lands and money and, in return, make enemies of large colonial groups.¹²⁵

Not only did Johnson carry on an extensive correspondence with the Anglican clergy, but he also, as mentioned above, urged his views upon the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State for the colonies until his death in 1774. A synopsis of his suggestions, as a British governmental official, must now be given, covering in good part the same chronological period already surveyed.

Johnson, as a government official, presented Indian conversion as an integral part of British Indian policy at the Albany Convention of 1754.¹²⁶ At that time he urged the building of a fort in the Indian country at Ononadaga, which should be well garrisoned and supplied with a missionary.¹²⁷ Two years later, he wrote directly to the Board of Trade, suggesting that any garrison chaplains in the Indian country should act as missionaries among the Indians in addition to their other

¹²¹*Johnson Papers*, V, 837-39; *S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 27. No. 29; *Schneider, Samuel Johnson*, I, 399, 433, 435.

¹²²Hillsborough was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1768 to 1772.
¹²³*Johnson Papers*, VI, 746-47. Sir William sent the description in December, 1769, asking that it be omitted in the Society's publications lest it raise a hue and cry from the enemies of the Church. *Ibid.*, VII, 290, 292.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, VIII, 693.

¹²⁵*Cross, Anglican Episcopate and American Colonies*, 271 note; *Adams, J. T., Revolutionary New England*, 201-02, 286, 359-60. Auchmuty and Johnson exchanged letters, however, which indicated that they believed that all the blame for procrastination did not lie with the government but much with the heads of the *S. P. G.* Auchmuty wrote "I could wish that the Bishop had a little more zeal, & were not afraid of shadows, & the Society more resolution & application in affairs that immediately concern them." *Johnson Papers*, VII, 309. See also *Ibid.*, VII, 583-85, 690-92, and Young "Sir William Johnson" in *Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records*, XXVII, 580-81.

¹²⁶In 1751, Cadwalder Colden wrote to Governor Clinton of New York concerning Johnson's work among the Indians. He recognized the advantage of having missionaries among the tribes and hoped the *S. P. G.* would contribute in this cause to its utmost ability. He also believed the missionaries should be subject to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 744.

¹²⁷*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd. Ser., VI, 214ff. For Indian concern about religion at this Congress, see *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, II, 345, 346.

duties,¹²⁸ and again, in 1759, he repeated this advice.¹²⁹ In 1761, he informed Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York that the Mohawks of Fort Hunter had all met at his house “. . . and made a verry long Haraunge on the want of a Minister, . . .”¹³⁰ The Indians, he declared, believed they were now being neglected because they no longer had land to give the English. Moreover, two Indian boys, whom he had sent to school, could be of use in instructing the other Indians. These boys the Society should encourage.¹³¹ The Board of Trade agreed to recommend that the Society appoint missionaries in each district, to live where the Indian Superintendent should direct.¹³²

In September, 1767, Johnson drew up a comprehensive review of trade and Indian affairs in the Northern district, dealing with all aspects of the Indian problem, which he sent to Lord Shelburne.¹³³ In this report he explained the necessity of placing missionaries and assistants with the Indians, especially with the Six Nations as the “door” to the rest, to hold them to the British interest. These missionaries should be Church of England clergy to keep the Indians away both from the French Catholic priests and the dissenting teachers. The latter he criticised as “. . . well meaning but gloomy people amongst us, . . .”¹³⁴ and maintained it to be unsound policy to introduce the natives to dissensions existing in the Protestant religion. Finally, he asked that the crown support the recently formulated plan of the Society to set up missions and schools in the Mohawk country.¹³⁵ In December, following up this report, Johnson again wrote at length to

¹²⁸*Doc. Hist. of N. Y., II, 415; N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 42-43. In the same year, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, at this time in close touch with Johnson, sent a sketch of a system for managing Indian affairs to the Board of Trade. He, too, urged the sending of Protestant missionaries among the Indians. Lincoln, C. H., Shirley Correspondence, II, 374; Johnson Papers, II, 410-11. See the address of the Mohawks of Canajohare, made in 1756, asking the king to provide them with a church and minister. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 194-95.*

¹²⁹*N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 377; Doc. Hist. of N. Y., II, 455.*

¹³⁰*Johnson Papers, III, 365-66.*

¹³¹*N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 578-80.*

¹³²*Ibid., VII, 637. The Board had been giving some attention to Indians at this time as a result of a royal command of 1763 to draw up a plan for the regulation of Indian affairs. Ibid., VII, 567. In October, 1764, Johnson sent over some “Sentiments and Remarks” on the future management of Indian affairs. He urged the appointment of good missionaries as “highly requisite.” Ibid., VII, 662.*

¹³³*Lord Shelburne from 1766 to 1768, was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which then passed on colonial affairs. For Shelburne’s interest in Indian affairs, see Alvord, C. W., The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, I, 287-88.*

¹³⁴*N. Y. Col. Docs. VII, 970.*

¹³⁵*Ibid. The Board of Trade Journal, December 21, 1767, noted the receipt of this report, probably transmitted to the Board by Shelburne. Illinois Historical Collections, XVI, 151.*

Shelburne, urging the establishment of missionaries, for the Indians were ". . . greatly disgusted at our neglects. . . ." ¹³⁶

The hope of securing royal financial aid for the work of the Society became faint when Lord Hillsborough informed Sir William, in October, 1768, of the necessity for strict economy in all matters of government. Johnson, replying from Fort Stanwix, pointed out that economy in the Indian department lowered the Indian respect for the English, and that to neglect to send English missionaries among them on the score of retrenchment simply gave the French and Spanish added arguments in their attempts to alienate the Six Nations from adherence to the English. ¹³⁷

In 1770, Sir William faithfully reported to the home authorities a resumé of the Fort Stanwix proceedings, just as he had sent an account to the Society. In this letter he again explained the Indian attitude on the religious question. The Indians had discussed the lack of missionaries several times during the negotiations and were so incensed at this particular evidence of neglect that he encouraged them to hope soon for redress in order to end their complaints. "The Majority of Indians," he explained, "'tis true, do not as yet request it [religious instruction], but even *they*, consider our neglecting to gratify those that are so disposed, as a further instance of our indifference and disregard." ¹³⁸ He repeated that the Society, from the scarcity of clergymen or some other cause, could not procure missionaries for the salaries to which they were forced to limit themselves. However, the Iroquois Indians found that the Canadian natives, who had been enemies a short time before, were regularly supplied with religious teachers. Johnson, therefore, recommended that the crown grant some allowance for the Mohawk mission and added that, if some further provision could be made to employ others in the same work, it would materially increase the Indian ". . . reverence for the Crown, and their attachment to the British Interest." ¹³⁹ Under the circumstances, it is not

¹³⁶N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 1002. In this same year, Johnson sent a letter to the Society in which he referred to the critical period in Indian relations and urged that the Society no longer neglect this field. Johnson Papers, VI, 26-30. Early the next year, 1768, Johnson, in a letter to Barton, said he hoped that religious instruction among the Six Nations would encourage the western tribes to embrace Christianity. Ibid., VI, 67-68.

¹³⁷Doc. Hist. of N. Y., II, 520; N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 105.

¹³⁸N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 226. For Johnson's proceedings with the Indians at this time, see Ibid., VIII, 237. See also Johnson Papers, VII, 875-79.

¹³⁹N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 226. This same letter appears in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., II, 563-66. Hillsborough replied that he had laid the dispatch before the King, but he made no mention of the special request with regard to religion. Ibid., VIII, 253-54. See also a letter to the Society from Dr. Cooper and Rev. Charles Inglis, telling of a visit to Johnstown in 1770, where they were waited upon by a delegation of Indians, who asked them to second Sir William's efforts to obtain a missionary for them, pointing out their disappointment at not having a missionary when the Canadians were so gratified. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 339, S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Aug. 17, 1770.

difficult to understand Johnson's impatience with the government's failure to act on a matter which he thought of vital importance in British relations with the Indians.¹⁴⁰ The situation was eased somewhat shortly after, when, in 1771, the Society's appointee, Rev. John Stuart, arrived as missionary.

With the approach of the American Revolutionary crisis, Sir William, from 1770 to his death, four years later, became more aggressive in his recommendations to the British government, to the Society, and to the Anglican clergy in the colonies, more particularly to the Rev. Charles Inglis, prominent Loyalist, and later, in 1787, appointed Bishop to British North America.¹⁴¹ Inglis and Johnson joined forces in working out an Indian conversion plan¹⁴² in the hope of support from the British government. In this hope, they were mistaken, for as Johnson saw in the political troubles of the period an added reason for attempting to hold the Indians, by all means, to Great Britain, so the ministry at home, overwhelmed by more immediately acute problems, let the subject of Indian work fall into the background.

This correspondence, begun in January, 1770, by Inglis, grew out of the home government appointment of a Catholic missionary at £100 per year for the Indians in Nova Scotia. Surely, Inglis argued, the authorities should be willing to grant a similar sum to a Protestant clergyman for Indians who had always been faithful allies. He hoped an application from Johnson would secure this grant.¹⁴³ Sir William replied cordially and promptly. He agreed heartily that the Six Nations were entitled to superior attention from the government and that he would mention the subject, but feared economy would prevent suc-

¹⁴⁰The Indian attitude, of course, developed from the earlier work of the French when attachment to the government and the church were parts of the same policy. Two years after Sir William's death, Col. Guy Johnson gave a summary of Indian affairs to Lord George Germain, in which he observed that the Indians had repeatedly applied to the government for a religious establishment, and he again at that time requested that some provision be made for them. Such action, he said would strengthen their attachment to the British government. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 657.

¹⁴¹Rev. Charles Inglis, who later became the first colonial bishop of Nova Scotia, was at this time the assistant to Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York. He had formerly been the S. P. G. missionary for Kent County, Delaware. For an account of the career of Inglis see John Wolfe Lydecker, *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis: His Ministry in America and Consecration as First Colonial Bishop, from 1759 to 1787*. Reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in *The American Historical Review*, April, 1937, pp. 558-559.

¹⁴²The completed Inglis-Johnson plan is available in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 661-75, and in *Kemp, Schools in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G.*, 229-32.

¹⁴³Johnson Papers, VII, 357-59. It was precisely this situation which actuated the government. The Six Nations had been fairly loyal without many special favors. On the other hand, the Canadian Indians were inclined to be intractable and threatening. Hence the concession to them.

cess.¹⁴⁴ Inglis urged the matter upon the Society, asking it to second Johnson's application to the government. He added, "As a Body, it may not be in their power to do much. But the Interest of some particular Members may be of Service."¹⁴⁵ The details of the plan were unfolded to Johnson with the request that he give it his attention so that it would be workable and practical. Inglis stated, in urging this point, "Your good Sense, your thorough Knowledge of Indian affairs, Your Influence & Authority with the Indians, with the Government & Society, conspire to point You out as the properest person,"¹⁴⁶ to bring these ". . . Savage Natives under Subjection to the Messiah, . . ."¹⁴⁷

Sir William took immediate exception to Inglis' idea, as he had in 1763 to Dr. William Smith's, that civilization of the Indians, to a partial degree, should precede Christianization.¹⁴⁸ He believed a plan of agricultural economy would alarm the Indians, arouse their suspicion of the whites, and, in addition, would mean the loss of their fur trade. No other way of life than hunting was agreeable to these Indians and they utterly failed to see the advantages of an agricultural civilization. Amusingly enough, as a result of his distress at the turmoil of the time, he singled out the New Englanders for attack on this score. He railed at them, asserting that with all their zeal and piety they were intent on extirpating the natives and securing advantages for themselves. Moreover, he would rather trust twenty Ottawas in a room with his plate, he said, than one Indian who had taken on some civilization of the New England type.

Johnson was convinced, in short, that the Indians could be taught religion and morality without altering their basic ways of life. As to the missionaries to be sent among the Indians, not only should they be men of exemplary lives, but they should also learn the language, be able to care for the sick, and distribute sums of money in charitable work. When a mission based on this scheme appeared to be developing successfully, schools should then be erected in which some of the Indian boys might assist. He dismissed, as mistaken, Wheelock's idea of educating Indians outside their own territory. He appreciated dissenter objection to the introduction of more Church of England clergy

¹⁴⁴*Johnson Papers*, VII, 391-93. Upon receiving Johnson's reply, Inglis wrote to the S. P. G. about the "popish missionary" and enclosed Johnson's letter. *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 64; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII, April 20, 1770.

¹⁴⁵*Johnson Papers*, VII, 504. In this letter, Inglis blamed the scarcity of clergymen for service in America upon the publication of Blackston's *Commentaries* which made legal study very easy and attractive to young men and therefore diverted them from the Church.

¹⁴⁶*Johnson Papers*, VII, 505.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, VII, 508.

¹⁴⁸See Johnson's letter to Auchmuty in which he approved of Inglis' project and said it deserved support. He feared, however, the lukewarmness in religion of many in power would make the success of the plan uncertain. *Ibid.*, VII, 544.

among the Indians, recognized the problem of finding English clergymen adaptable to Indian customs and habits, but nevertheless, hoped that the government would support the plan and that a sum might be raised in England by subscription.¹⁴⁹

As a result of this interest, Inglis and Dr. Cooper of King's College visited Johnson the next month to discuss details more fully and to see the Indians themselves. Upon his return, Inglis informed the Society of the scope of the plan and asked for its approval.¹⁵⁰ Sir William had approved of the idea and would advise in the work. Inglis understood that political troubles for the moment might divert the government's attention from the project of Indian conversion but optimistically hoped the disturbances would soon subside, and then, ". . . an extensive plan, with the Society at its Head, supported by Sir William Johnson's Influence here, & attended with the greatest Probability of Success; would not fail, I imagine, to command Notice and awake the slumbering Charity of many Christians."¹⁵¹

Inglis became an indefatigable correspondent and advocate of religious activity among the Indians. He referred to Sir William "as the most zealous Friend, & ablest Advocate the Church of England has in America,"¹⁵² asked him regarding the number of missionaries and schoolmasters needed, the number of Indians in the Six Nations, and for other statistical information. Endorsed by Sir William and the Society, the scheme would be presented to the crown. New and old arguments were to win governmental approval. The danger of the Indians falling under the influence of the Catholic priests, if left without religious care from the Church of England; the commercial value of Christianized Indians who would ". . . become sober, would multiply, & be more attentive to Business";¹⁵³ and lastly, that the provisions of the colonial charters mentioned the conversion of the savages as one of the reasons for colonization.¹⁵⁴ All these points were carefully worked up.

In the same year, 1770, Johnson, too, wrote to the Society, outlining the main features of the plan. He suggested specifically that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops, as well as the Society as a whole, request royal acceptance of the scheme. The Society

¹⁴⁹*Johnson Papers*, VII, 596-602.

¹⁵⁰Apparently the Society expressed its approbation. See a letter of Inglis to the S. P. G., Mar. 8, 1771. S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 66.

¹⁵¹*Johnson Papers*, VII, 749; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 65; S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, Oct. 19, 1770.

¹⁵²*Johnson Papers*, VII, 761.

¹⁵³*Johnson Papers*, VII, 764.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, VII, 764. He added that he thought the government had as much reason to be apprehensive of Wheelock's Indian converts as those of the Catholic missionaries, but it would not do to so inform the public. See a letter from Auchmuty to Johnson referring to the plan. *Ibid.*, VII, 309-10.

assured him, in reply, that it would take every opportunity of recommending the project.¹⁵⁵ In the fall, Inglis wrote, full of hope, relaying a rumor that Lord Hillsborough had told Dr. Samuel Johnson, former president of King's College, that upon proper application the government would allow the quit-rents of New York for the purpose of Christianizing the Indians. He thought Sir William the proper person to make this request.¹⁵⁶ Johnson answered in November, saying he hoped the attention of the government would soon be directed to the religious desires of the Indians. As for the quit-rents, he thought it ". . . a matter that may rather be wished for than Expected, . . ."¹⁵⁷

Inglis still clung, it appears, to the idea of teaching the Indians at least a few of the arts of civilization by introducing mechanics, blacksmiths, or other artisans into their villages. Johnson once more opposed this on the ground that anything which tended to produce a change in their present mode of life should be deferred because nothing so quickly aroused their suspicions.¹⁵⁸

In March, 1771, Inglis informed the Society of his progress. He remarked that he and Sir William had estimated that £500 per year would be sufficient to start the proposed plan. He knew the Society could not bear the expense alone but believed the government should meet some or all of it. Sir William would, he said, apply to the government for funds. The funds, from whatever source obtained, however, should be controlled by the Society.¹⁵⁹

Johnson, a man of action, naturally grew impatient with the slow progress. He feared an indifferent response in England, where "This extraordinary lukewarmness in matters of this nature, may . . . in some measure be attributed to the peculiar cast of Modern politicks, . . ."¹⁶⁰ Inglis had suggested sending the plan immediately upon its completion to Hillsborough. This Sir William wished to defer until he had heard from the Secretary of State in answer to his previous re-

¹⁵⁵*S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII, Aug. 17, 1770.

¹⁵⁶*Johnson Papers*, VII, 963. He also reported that the Secretary of the *S. P. G.* had explained the circumstances surrounding the appointment of the Catholic missionary in Nova Scotia. Lieutenant-Governor William Franklin, a member of the *S. P. G.* intended, if Hillsborough permitted, to publish a vindication of the government and the Society with regard to the affair. *Ibid.*, VII, 964. See Johnson on this matter in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 268.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, IV, 268. He added that, if Inglis could procure a statement of the annual income from the quit-rents, he would consider it further. Writing to the Society a little later, apropos of this, Inglis remarked that the quit-rents, were so poorly paid as to amount to only £300 per year. *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 66. He also proposed, upon Lieutenant-Governor Franklin's suggestion, that the Society apply for islands in the Delaware, not yet granted, the income to be used to further Indian conversion. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, Oct. 18, 1771; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 288.

¹⁵⁸*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 268.

¹⁵⁹*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 66. This letter appears as an abstract in *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, May 17, 1771.

¹⁶⁰*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 276.

ports on the religious grievances of the Indians.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, rather than see the plan fail, he agreed to present a memorial to Hillsborough. Johnson added some suggestions to Inglis' list of arguments especially designed to influence the government in favor of the plan, pointing out that the setting up of religious establishments among the Indians would remove tribal jealousies and would be proof of the King's regard for them. Moreover, to make them members of a church, which taught obedience to civil authority, would strengthen the allegiance of the natives to the government and it would also be an effective means of preventing the alienation of the savages by England's enemies, who continually reminded the Indians that the English took no care of their salvation. To the Society, Inglis apologetically explained that these arguments aimed at winning over the government to the scheme were of a political sort, as he imagined those of a religious bearing would not have as much weight.¹⁶²

From time to time Sir William analyzed the problems of Christianizing the Indians, placing the blame for failure on the English government, which lacked knowledge and understanding of Indian mental characteristics and ideas, and zeal and perseverance in this work,¹⁶³ and hence had failed to provide adequate funds. Conversion to the Church of England, he constantly insisted, would help secure the Indians to Great Britain and counteract the efforts of the French, which danger, though not as great as formerly, was, nevertheless, still present and could only be defeated by setting up Anglican religious establishments. The King's support of this plan would be the best security of Indian allegiance. The capacity of the Indians to receive instruction and comprehend religion was unquestioned and their genius for imitation would lead them from the teachings of Christianity into an acceptance of civilization. He suggested that, in place of the historical and topographical account of the natives that Inglis had meant to include, he would confine himself to a brief general sketch.¹⁶⁴ This letter answers, once more, the question of Johnson's motives in supporting the Society's Indian missionary enterprises.

In August, 1771, Inglis sent Johnson the Society's abstract and added, "Providence seems to mark you out as the proper Instrument in its Hand, to civilise those poor savages, & bring them out of the Bosom of Heathen Darkness into the Fold of his blessed son; & I am confident that this will add Lustre to your memory amongst Pos-

¹⁶¹*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 277.

¹⁶²*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 67; *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, Oct. 18, 1771.

¹⁶³He again commented on the superior zeal and enthusiasm of the dissenters for the cause, which was, however, marred by their "Gloomy Severity of manners," which disqualified them for the work. *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 282.

¹⁶⁴For this letter see *Ibid.*, IV, 282-83.

terity.¹⁶⁵ He suggested obtaining the support of the newly appointed New York Governor, Tryon, recently a successful administrator in North Carolina. He was reported to have influence with Hillsborough and was friendly to the Church of England.¹⁶⁶ Sir William lamented that though the conversion of the savages was mentioned in charters and in governors' instructions, it was considered a matter of form. He hoped for better things from Governor Tryon.¹⁶⁷

Steps were immediately taken to tie Governor Tryon into the plan by securing his endorsement.¹⁶⁸ And Inglis continued to scout for funds. If some available fund could be indicated, he thought the government would more readily assent to the project. "Your Recommendation will draw their [the ministry] attention, if any Thing can; for it is not only my Opinion, but that of every one besides, that there is no person whatever whose Influence is more essential to the Peace & Welfare of America than Yours at present."¹⁶⁹

A little later Johnson approved the plan, except the proposal to introduce farmers and mechanics among the Indians. Evidently Inglis had not yet abandoned this feature. Johnson wrote to Hillsborough, introducing Inglis as the author of the plan¹⁷⁰ and Dr. Cooper as the person who would present the memorial.¹⁷¹ Inglis promptly answered, assuring Sir William that he had removed the objectionable sections and stated that he had added a few more details at Colonel Guy Johnson's direction.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵*Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 285.* Inglis commented on Johnson's ability to find time to write so often amidst such a multiplicity of other business. During this period, Bishop Lowth, in an anniversary sermon before the S. P. G., paid public tribute to Sir William's interest and efforts. *Ibid., IV, 285-86.* See also Barton's account to Sir William of the intention of the Society to carry on work in the Mohawk country until the government should be willing to take over the expense. He also states a rumor that something was intended to be done in the present session by Parliament. *Ibid., VIII, 182.*

¹⁶⁶*Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 285-86.*

¹⁶⁷*Ibid., IV, 287.* He suggested a map to illustrate the plan. In the finished memorial one appears, drawn by Col. Guy Johnson. *Ibid., IV, opposite p. 661.*

¹⁶⁸In October, 1771, Inglis wrote that he had laid the memorial before Tryon, who approved it, and he thought recommended it to Hillsborough. *Ibid., IV, 291.* No correspondence between Johnson and Tryon on this subject appears. In 1772, Governor Franklin of New Jersey, in a letter to the Society, approved of the project. *S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Trans.), XIX, Oct. 23, 1772.*

¹⁶⁹*Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 289.*

¹⁷⁰Inglis' idea seems to have been to have Johnson appear as the author, which arrangement seemed unwise to Sir William. Inglis told Governor Tryon and the Society that Johnson deserved all the credit for the memorial. *Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 291-92.*

¹⁷¹*Ibid., IV, 290.* For Johnson's letter to Hillsborough see *Ibid., II, 572.*

¹⁷²Sir William had Guy Johnson return the plan to Inglis in person for these changes. The additional details included a fuller discussion of Pontiac's affair so that people would not have the notion that the colonists were free from the Indian danger, and also, a hint of how much more agreeable the Indians found the Church of England service than that of the dissenters. He also pointed out the wisdom of trusting the conversion of the Indians to the Church of England clergy by which their fidelity to the crown would be assured. In this same letter, Inglis gave minute description of the outward appearance of the memorial. *Ibid., IV, 291-92.*

Dr. Cooper presented the memorial sometime in 1771. W. L. Stone¹⁷³ says that the influence of Lowth, Bishop of Oxford, was brought to bear on Hillsborough, who, however, took no action on the matter, due doubtless to his other pressing colonial problems. In October, 1772, Inglis wrote to Johnson saying that, although he regretted the resignation of Hillsborough, the appointment of Lord Dartmouth might turn out for the benefit of their plan as Dartmouth was one of the most religious men in England.¹⁷⁴

As the proponents of the plan feared, the Anglo-Colonial political situation diverted the attention of the government from a consideration of the memorial. From 1772 until the revolution, the colonial clergy were increasingly concerned with their own safety, as the *Journal* of the Society shows, and therefore could not urge the conversion of the Indians very effectively. Sir William, also, found his efforts hampered by local problems and by ill health.

Johnson's relation to the Society was well stated by his friend, Thomas Barton, the Society's missionary in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who wrote in July, 1770, to him that "The Society, I find, have turn'd their Eyes upon you, as the principal Patron of their Cause in America—They mention you in their Letters in Terms of the highest Respect; & hope, thro' your Influence & Assistance, to accomplish at last what they have so long wish'd, . . ."¹⁷⁵ And four years later, at the time of Johnson's death, Stuart, who as missionary to the Mohawks, represented the culmination of much of Johnson's activity with the Society, wrote home on August 9, 1774, that "The Church of England has lost a powerful and zealous protector by the death of Sir William Johnson,—his Influence was always exerted in her defence, when any opportunity offered; . . ."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Stone (Jr.), *Johnson*, II, 356-57. See also *Kemp, Supp. of Schools in Col. N. Y.* by S. P. G., 231; *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 621-23.

¹⁷⁴For Inglis' reports to Johnson on the progress made by Cooper in bringing the matter to the attention of the ministry, see *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 541.

¹⁷⁵*Johnson Papers*, VII, 811. A few months earlier he had spoken of Sir William using every means in his power to promote the designs of the Society. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B21, No. 122. By far the most glowing account of Sir William was written by Col. Babcock, in 1773, when trying to further a scheme of his own for an Indian seminary in the Mohawk country under Johnson's sponsorship. "—Why may not Sir William be the means of introducing Learning & Religion amongst the Indians, and civilize them as well as Peter the Great did the Muscovites and altho Sr Wm like Solomon has been eminent in his Pleasures with the brown Ladies, yet he may lay the Foundation of a Building in the Mohawk Country that may be of more real use, than the very splendid Temple that Solomon built . . ." *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 304. Johnson looked coldly upon Babcock's plan. On this subject see *Ibid.*, IV, 302-05, 305-09; *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 857-59, 869-70, 922-23.

¹⁷⁶S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 201; *Johnson Papers*, VII, 1195. In March, 1775, the clergy of New York recommended that three of Johnson's sons-in-law be made members of the Society. S. P. G. *Journal* (L. C. Trans.), XX, March 17, 1775. The "three sons-in-law" is an error and refers doubtless to

This study of Johnson's cooperation with the Society illustrates the significance of the by-products of a movement. Just as Eleazar Wheelock had relatively slight success with his Indian plans, but founded a great educational institution, Dartmouth, so the S. P. G. founded Columbia University and established the educational system of New York colony. In its various efforts, it helped create and spread "The Cult of the Noble Savage" and stimulated Anglo-American evangelical interests in the protection of the backward peoples of the world against economic exploitation.

And again, this cooperation shows that often men do not understand the tides on which they sail. The Atlantic Coast, with its 2,000,000 white men, in 1770, and with European hordes waiting to join them, was too small to contain the oncoming millions who wished to establish farm colonies in the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Valleys. And, by a strange fate, the sturdy and self-respecting Iroquois tribes, so highly praised by Ellsworth Huntington,¹⁷⁷ were right on the line of march of the all water level route later followed by the Erie Canal and the New York Central Railway lines.

These Indians, as Johnson so often pointed out, could not quickly adapt themselves to a farm-colony economy. Nor could they become a part of the white man's world in the way the negro did. The negro has often fought with great tenacity for his tribal life in Africa, and still does, but the slave trade and slavery necessarily made him a non-tribal individual, who had to, and could, adapt himself to the white man's industry, commerce, and agriculture. The Indian could, for example, in the Hudson's Bay Region adapt himself to the white man's hunting interests but not to those of the settler, cultivating the land.

The plans for the Iroquois are particularly intriguing because an experiment that reformers rarely see in the heat of battle was performed, when a hardy race of Indians, a capable Indian Governor, and a powerful missionary society tried to take a stand against the too rapid impact of the white settler in the rushing decades just before the American Revolution.

The Society and its agent, Johnson, as has been seen throughout all the stages of the European rivalry in seizing and settling these rich New York lands, tried to Christianize and protect the Indian, but also to use him as a "Warlike Christian Man" in the battle lines of the day. Indeed, Johnson himself, as is well known, carried along by the conditions of the day, helped push the Indian boundary lines west and incidentally acquired large tracts of land for his own use. And then, after his death,

Sir John, son and heir, as well as Col. Guy Johnson and Col. Daniel Claus who married Sir William's two daughters. This recommendation was doubtless an effort to keep up the connection between the Indian Superintendents and the Society.

¹⁷⁷Ellsworth Huntington, *The Red Man's Continent*, pp. 119-21, 158-160.

the Iroquois Indians took the side of the British, and thereby sealed their fate as a power in the United States. They were defeated in battle by General John Sullivan, whose Yankee soldiers spied out the land and soon returned with wives to settle in this fertile region. In short, a large white population, doubling every 20 years, spelled the doom of the American Indian east of the Mississippi. Neither the ingenuity and devotion of imperial representative, nor missionary ardor could protect the Red Man from the White Man's closely packed settlements. This tragedy of the Aborigine was to be enacted so quickly that he was romanticised almost in his own time by James Fenimore Cooper and others as "the noble savage." Inevitably, the all but insoluble Indian policy was taken over by the new American government.

In the northern and middle colonies leading Anglicans had so frequently taken the Tory side that the long attempt to found an American episcopate seemed hopeless. However, the zeal and stamina of the S. P. G. missionaries had been such that the Episcopal Church was established on a firm foundation both in the United States and Canada immediately after the American Revolution. As is well known, one leader, an American born Loyalist, Samuel Seabury, became the first American bishop in 1784; another leader, an Irish born Loyalist, Charles Inglis, became the first colonial bishop in 1787, with jurisdiction over British North America.

In the short view, the Society's work had seemed crushed by the Revolution; in the long view, its activities were taken over by the Americans themselves, and the Society was therefore freed to focus upon new fields in Canada, the West Indies, and other parts of the Empire.

BISHOP ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE—AUTHOR

By G. Sherman Burrows

DR. COXE'S work as a writer and editor began in his boyhood and student days and continued through his years as Deacon at Morrisania; Priest at Hartford, Baltimore and New York; and Bishop of Western New York. It extended over a half century, and more, of nineteenth century history; a general knowledge, at least, of which is necessary to any proper understanding of Coxe's thought and action. He was, very much, a man of the period.¹

Coxe made his first appearance, as an author, in the character of a poet. While yet a young man, in his twentieth year, he published his poem—"Advent, a Mystery," in 1837. It was quickly followed (1838) by "St. Jonathan, the Lay of a Scald" and by a more ambitious production—"Athelwold", afterwards republished (1877), with some changes, as—"The Ladye Chace". To these were added (1840)—"Christian Ballads" and "Athanasion". The first two were composed while he was a student at the University of the City of New York; the later ones, in large part, while he was a theologian at the General Seminary. "Advent", "St. Jonathan", and "Athelwold" seem to have attracted but passing attention, as at first issued; and they are little known today. They, however, prepared the way for the "Christian Ballads" which, at once, became popular and were republished, again and again, in America and in England. Thus, before he was ordained, he had established an enviable place for himself in the literary world, at home and abroad.

"Advent, a Mystery" was a distinctively religious poem, as the name indicates; a mystery play with the coming of the Christ child as its theme.

¹*The Right Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., LL.D., was born May 10, 1818, at Mendham, New Jersey; where his father, the Rev. Samuel Hanson Coxe, D.D.,—a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman—had a parish. He spent his boyhood in New York City, to which his father had moved, and continued to live there with his uncle—Dr. Abraham Liddon Coxe—after his father went to Auburn. During these years of childhood and youth, he came to know and love the Church. He graduated, in 1838, at the University of the City of New York; and, in 1841, at the General Theological Seminary. He was made a Deacon, in New York, in 1841; and was advanced to the Priesthood, in Hartford, Conn., in 1842. His first pastorate was at Morrisania, New York, 1841-1842; from which place he went to be Rector of St. John's Church, Hartford, 1842-1854. He was Rector of Grace Church, Baltimore, 1854-1863; Rector of Calvary Church, New York, 1863-1865. He was Bishop of Western New York, 1865-1896. He died at Clifton Springs, New York, July 20, 1896. (Hayes' Diocese of Western New York, pp. 371-372.)*

“St. Jonathan” was in lighter vein:

I write not now for glory, but for once
 I write for frolic—fun is my delight;
 And yet I write for usefulness. There runs
 An undertide in all that I indite.

It is, with pleasing comment and able sarcasm, a characterization of New York City, principally; its politics, money marts, and social pretensions.

“Athelwold” (or “The Ladye Chace”) is a ballad of considerable length, running to one hundred fifty pages in the enlarged edition. It is based on the story of King Edgar’s marriage with Elfreda; and begins with a hunting expedition and Edgar’s visit to Athelwold Castle. In it we find an early coupling of his love for America with his love for England, a courageous step in that day:

Then hail, mother Albion, and long may they twine,
 Thy banner with ours and our banner with thine;
 Till broad o’er new nations these ensigns unfurled
 Give laws to earth’s races and peace to the world.²

With his love for country and ancestral ties went his love for the Church; and we find him, in his “Christian Ballads”, singing the familiar lines:

I love the Church—the Holy Church,
 The Saviour’s spotless Bride;
 And oh, I love her palaces
 Through all the land so wide;
 The cross-topped spire amid the trees,
 The holy bell of prayer,
 The music of our Mother’s voice,
 Our Mother’s home is there.³

We wonder at this young ardor for the Church in England and America, in the son of Presbyterian parents; his father an eminent divine. We have the explanation in his own statement:

I grew up in New York, where I saw the best days of Hobart and daily mingled with those who knew him most intimately. No matter how it so happened that a boy, born in a “manse”, should have taken to the Church and her blessed ways, even from his nursery; but so it was in the providence of God. In that nursery I learned the Church’s Catechism from the lips of my saintly mother; and under the instruction of a

²*The Ladye Chace*, p. 9.

³*The Christian Ballads*, p. 184; edition of 1901.

pious and learned father, who imparted to me a knowledge of the Scriptures and a love for sacred literature. I also learned that delight in Church history and that great reverence for the restorers of the Church of England which has shaped my whole life. Such influences, and the society in which I lived, largely made up of kindred and friends who had been born and bred in the Church's fellowship, gave me good opportunities for satisfying my thirst for information about all its concerns. From my seventh year I was an enthusiast in my inquiries and observations. * * * Fortunately, I never learned any other catechism than that of the Church. * * * I kept my first Christmas at old St. Paul's, in 1824. * * * Often have I been at the week-day prayers, in St. John's, when he (Bishop Hobart) officiated. * * * Little did the good Bishop imagine that the boy in the corner who helped to swell the responses would one day succeed to his labours in Western New York.⁴

In 1842, Coxe published his "Athanasion and Other Poems". He had previously published "Athanasion", in 1840. The two longest of the poems are "Athanasion" in some thirty cantos, and "The Blues" in twenty-seven cantos. Among the shorter ones is "Watchwords":

We are living, we are dwelling
In a grand and awful time,
In an age on ages telling,
To be living—is sublime.

Also the "Soul's Dirge", which, in some editions, is included with the "Christian Ballads":

The organ played sweet music
While as, on Easter Day,
All heartless from the altar
The heedless went away;
And down the broad aisle crowding,
They seemed a funeral train
That were burying their spirits
To the music of that strain.

Two volumes of Coxe's verse came from the press in 1845, while he was at Hartford.⁵ They were "Hallowe'en, a Romaunt; with Lays Meditative and Devotional", and "Saul, a Mystery".

Of the former volume, "Hallowe'en" had been published separately and privately, in an edition of only fifty copies, in 1842. The poem was written when the author was but twenty. It consists of ninety-five stanzas of various lengths, and tells the story of one who had practically died and had returned to life:

⁴*The Orbit, Diocese of Western New York*, p. 92ff, 1878.

⁵*The History of Christ Church, Hartford*, p. 339.

I have been near the gates of death
 And thought I passed them thro',
 Ev'n now my spirit quivereth
 To think of where it flew.

The experiences related are weird, as becometh a Hallowe'en tale. The Lays constitute the greater part of the volume. They are sixty-five in number. Some of them were appended to the "Christian Ballads" when they first appeared. Others had found their way into Newspaper pages. Coxe says, in his preface, "they were begun in 1836, when I was passing a college vacation under my father's roof, at Auburn, in Western New York". One of them, however, bears the date—1830; four of them, the date—1833; and one of them, the date—1834.

The volume, "Saul, a Mystery", is a mystery play; with Saul, King of Israel, as its principal character. It is a book of over two hundred fifty pages; the drama being in five acts. The scene is, as the author explains, "chiefly laid in the hill country of Judaea and parts adjacent".

While dwelling upon Coxe's poetical works, most of which appeared in his younger life, we mention also the two publications of verse which came from the press in his later years. "The Bible Rhyme", 1873, was intended, principally, for Sunday School use. "The Paschal", 1889, contains poems written over a long period. The Bishop tells us, in his preface, "The poems here collected have been written, nearly all of them, at the seasons they celebrate, in successive years. The "Paschal New Moon", if I recollect, is the oldest of the series". And we record here, also, hymns 108, 471, and 478 of "The New Hymnal".

A critic, writing on American Poetry for the *American Quarterly Church Review*, in referring to the "Christian Ballads", said:⁶

Our Bishop Coxe glows and kindles in view of the visible Church. * * * The Christian ballad burns and palpitates with the fire and life of a Christian manhood. With occasional defects, and a censurable uniformity of metre, we know nothing in our language which could replace this volume of Bishop Coxe. * * * It seems almost a creation in its department of Christian literature.

The same might be said of much of the rest of Coxe's verse. In it all, he proves himself to have had gifts of a real poet, which, if he had employed them to their full powers throughout his life, would, no doubt, have placed him on a high pinnacle of poetic fame. In illustration, take the first stanza of "Iona":

⁶*The American Quarterly Church Review*, p. 164, 1870.

We gazed on Corryvreckin's whirl,
We sailed by Jura's shore
Where sung, of old, the mermaid girl
Whose shell is heard no more;
We came to Fingal's pillard cave,
That minister in the sea,
And sang—while clapped its hand the wave
And worshipped ev'n as we.

The bard is telling of the journey to the ancient shrine; not by a mere listing of geographical names of places passed on the way, with, perhaps, some superficial description of landscape and seascape, as even distinguished poets have done; but by placing before the mind the various localities and scenes in their settings of history and tradition, and with suggestive imagery. The same method of description is pronounced in "St. Sacrament"; and, indeed, is to be noted in some of Coxe's prose as well as verse. In his travels, everywhere, he is not content to see only the outward appearance of fields and towns and buildings; but he looks upon them as vitalized by human toil, and hallowed, if it may be, by sacred associations and memories. In his study of history and of current happenings, he dwells upon events and movements in their relation to what has been and what may be; as well as upon their facial aspects. It is this wide and understanding view of things that gives rare value to what Coxe wrote.

The Hartford period of Dr. Coxe's life was richly productive. Hartford itself was a literary center, second, in New England, only to Boston⁷. It recalls to the mind the names of many writers of lasting reputation; Thomas Hooker, Roger Wolcott, Jonathan Edwards, Emma Hart Willard, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Theodore Dwight, Horace Bushnell, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Charles Dudley Warner, Samuel Langhorne Clemens (Mark Twain), Edmund Clarence Stedman, Noah Webster, John Fiske; all of whom, and several others, lived some part, at least, of their lives in Hartford or vicinity. They were not all there in Coxe's time, of course; but the literary trend and tradition were there, and Coxe became a part of it. To say he filled that part well, is to give him meager credit.

As Rector of St. John's, Hartford, Coxe was at the head of a parish but recently organized, in a Congregational community, where the Church had been established with great difficulty. After years of struggle, Christ Parish had come to strength under the leadership of such rectors as Philander Chase and George Burgess, both of whom became Bishops. There was, therefore, an ecclesiastical, as well as a literary tradition to stimulate the mind and heart of the young cleric.

Though a busy parson, developing St. John's and missions which

⁷See *Memorial History of Hartford County, Conn.*

he had established, and though assuming his full part in diocesan affairs, Coxe took time to publish besides poems already mentioned: in 1842, an American edition of Bishop Wilberforce's 'Bucharistica'; in 1843, a pamphlet on Revivalism in the Church; in 1845, his 'Thoughts on the Services'; in 1846, his sermon—"The Household of Faith"; in 1848, his sermon—"Seventy Years Since"; in 1849, his sermon—"A City not Forsaken"; in 1850, "Absolution and Confession"; in 1851, his sermon—"The Priesthood and the People," at Oxford, England; in 1852, his sermon—"The Faithful Witness," and his translation of Hirscher's "Sympathies of the Continent, or Proposals for a New Reformation," with notes.

To the above should be added two volumes which were prepared by Coxe while he was at Hartford, but which did not leave the press until he had taken up his work in Baltimore: "Sermons on Doctrine and Duty" (1855), and "Impressions of England" (1855). The latter had appeared in the New York "*Church Journal*" before being put into book form⁸.

Coxe's sermon—"Seventy Years Since"—merits special notice because of its estimate of the times, and of the influence of Bishop Seabury. He referred to counsels which, on grounds of necessity, would have constituted the Church, in America, but a nominal episcopacy, and said that had this inconsiderate advice prevailed "the Church of Rome would have entered the field without an adversary, bearing the only apostolic commission in America." He said that "God had fitted Seabury to do for America what Athanasius did for the whole Church. He fought alone. Yet I mean not to disparage the services of the excellent Bishop White. The Lord had need of both these good men. Seabury was deliberate and judicious, but, withal, resolute, efficient, unyielding. White was gentle, conciliating and prudent. What Seabury preached with boldness White recommended with suavity.—The opponents yielded to White what they would have contested with Seabury to the death. Nor do I forget the noble labors of Bishop Hobart; a prelate to whom, under God, our theology owes, more directly than to any other man, its purification and the practical energy with which it has been imbued. But remember that Hobart wore the mantle of Seabury."⁹

Coxe's sermons on "Doctrine and Duty" were dedicated to the parishioners of St. John's Church, who requested that they be published. They are simple and direct, with little of the literary quality one might expect from a literary artist. The subjects are: The Coming of the Judge, Preparation for Judgment, Death and Hades, The Punish-

⁸*Preface to Impressions of England, 1855.*

⁹*The sermon was published in The Gospel Messenger, May 19, 1848. The occasion was the removal of the remains of Bishop Seabury to New London, Conn. Coxe was a member of the Diocesan Committee on Memorial to arrange for the reinterment, and a suitable monument.*

ment of the Wicked, The Reward of the Righteous, Signs of the Times, Spiritual Rejoicing, The Royalties of Christ, Christ before the Incarnation, Preparation for Time, The Uncleaness of Riches, The Great Missionary, The Son of Mary in His Father's House, The God of the Faithful, Ways in the Waters, The Great Enemy, The Prayer of the Gadarenes, The Tongue in Judgment.

Coxe's edition of Hirscher's "Sympathies of the Continent" was accounted "one of the most striking ecclesiastical works" of the year.¹⁰ It was published in England and played an important part in inspiring the organization of the Anglo-Continental Society; which was instrumental in extending in Europe, the knowledge of Anglican Catholicity.¹¹

The "Thoughts on the Services" are so well known as hardly to require description. They first appeared in 1845, as Coxe tells us in his preface; and they have reappeared in many successive editions, even down to the present century. The object of the book, he tells us, is "to beget habits of close attention to the Psalms, and to their bearing on the subject of each particular service."

The "Impressions of England" are, as the title implies, Coxe's account of his travels in that country, in 1851. The book is, perhaps, of all, the most entertaining. By some it is judged the most enduring. He visited many famous places and people in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and on the continent. He saw Newman, Keble, and many dignitaries of Church and State; also, common folk. He found Newman in a service, in his chapel; and describes him as "a lank and spectral figure," who "stalked in and prostrated himself before the altar. This was followed by a succession of elevations and prostrations, awkward in the extreme, and both violent and excessive.—Could this be he who once stood in the first pulpit in Christendom and from his watchtower in St. Mary's told us what of the night?"¹²

Later in his stay in England, Coxe visited Hursley, where he found Keble to whom he presented himself. "Nothing could be more simple and unaffected than his manner; and yet, in a word, it was as if George Herbert had risen from his grave, and were talking with me in a familiar way. He would not hear of my departure but instantly made me his guest and thenceforth I was in a dream; from the time I first saw him until I bade him farewell."¹³

Coxe was interested in everybody and everything he saw: in Lords

¹⁰*The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, January, 1853, pp. 560-561. John Baptist von Hirscher, D.D., was a distinguished German Theologian—Dean of the Metropolitan Church at Freiburg, and prof. of Christian Ethics in the University. Coxe visited him on his first trip to Europe and interested himself in the Old Catholic Movement.

¹¹*American Quarterly Church Review*, p. 25, 1854.

¹²*Impressions of England*, pp. 24-25, 1855.

¹³*Impressions of England*, p. 247, 1855.

and Ladies and Commoners; in royal robes and coronation vestments; in the City Court and in the House of Commons. And he was interested in a breakfast he had, one morning, at St. Asaph, in Wales, where:

I grew sad with my bachelor comfort, feeling first that I ought not to enjoy so much, except at home, and then longing to be there; my hostess' unimpeachable fare—bread all crisp without and all snowy sponge within, butter golden and fragrant, prawns gathered freshly from clean sands of Rhyl, eggs that were never cold and that now were hot to the very second of culinary time, and divers varieties of fruits that feasted the imagination even more than they gratified the taste.

Coxe closed his ministry at Hartford in 1854, concluding a very successful rectorship. St. John's had nearly trebled in the number of its communicants. His successor—the Rev. E. A. Washburn—reported, "The parish has sustained a heavy loss in the removal of the Rev. A. C. Coxe to Baltimore."—and he hardly needs add that he finds "the parish in the most prosperous condition; the fruit of twelve years of noble toil, in the spirit and methods of the Church."¹⁴ In addition to his parish work, Coxe had served on several diocesan boards, had given lectures in Pastoral Theology in the Divinity School, and had served as a Trustee of the General Seminary. He had established missions at Windsor and Manchester.

At Grace Church, Baltimore, Coxe again took the charge of a new parish,—an off-shoot of St. Peter's Church. It had had but one rector, and him only a few months, the Rev. Thomas Atkinson, who relinquished the parish to become the Bishop of North Carolina. Grace Church was located in a choice section of Baltimore, and some of the most prominent families made up a large part of the congregation. Coxe's personal charm and ability, combined with his work as a writer, orator and administrator, made him a favorite almost immediately; not only in the city but in the diocese. He remained at Grace Church until 1863. They were difficult years, necessarily; and doubly so during the last part of his stay, because of the Civil War. Baltimore was the home of sympathizers and participants in that great struggle; some on one side, some on the other. The delicacy of the situation rendered it inadvisable to hold a diocesan convention in 1861; and it was omitted. Bishop Whitingham was cautioned, in 1862, to use careful discretion in his convention address; and he limited his address to diocesan affairs.¹⁵

We can imagine what the exercise of self restraint must have meant to a man of Coxe's rather impetuous temperament, through a prolonged period of national tension. However, he maintained the re-

¹⁴*Connecticut Diocesan Journal*, p. 71, 1854.

¹⁵*Maryland Diocesan Journal*, p. 15, 1862.

spect and affection of his people; with but few exceptions, even of those who radically differed from him. Prof. Francis P. Nash, LL. D., of Hobart College, writing of the Bishop soon after his death, said:

Everywhere—even in the parish which he was serving at the beginning of our Civil War, in a city deeply touched with the spirit of secession, he won the esteem, the veneration and the love of those to whom he ministered. Those who in those troublous days felt unkindly toward him, for a brief period, lived to recognize the consistency of his conduct and the noble fearlessness of his patriotism; and nowhere today is his name more highly honored than in that very parish.¹⁶

No doubt, Coxe's removal, in 1863, to New York City, where he became Rector of Calvary Church, eased the strain. But his love for Baltimore lasted to the end of his days. The Rev. A. C. Powell, Rector of Grace Church at the time of Bishop Coxe's death, and speaking at the memorial service, said:

For many years he has made it an annual custom to spend a week or a fortnight in Baltimore. . . . His love for Grace Church was even greater than his love for Baltimore. It was an amazing affection, which no absence or distance could chill or check.¹⁷

During his nine years in Baltimore, Coxe saw the heavy debt of Grace Church entirely liquidated and its number of communicants almost trebled.¹⁸ He established a deaf-mute mission, and a Church Home and Infirmary which became "one of the noblest charitable institutions in the land."¹⁹ As a member of the diocesan committee for the support of St. James' College, he raised large sums of money for that institution. He was a member of the Standing Committee and a deputy to the General Convention. He was elected to the Bishopric of Texas, which he declined.²⁰

As Rector of Calvary Church, New York City, 1863-1865, Dr. Coxe found himself, for the first time, at the head of an old and well-established parish. His immediate predecessor was the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., and his immediate successor was the Rev. E. A.

¹⁶See newspaper clipping, supposedly taken from a Geneva, N. Y., paper.

¹⁷Bishop Coxe at Baltimore: Memorial Address by Rev. Arthur Chilton Powell.

¹⁸Maryland Diocesan Journal, p. 41, 1856.

¹⁹Powell's Memorial Address; W. N. Y., 1896.

²⁰St. James College conferred the degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology on Mr. Coxe, in 1856. The same degree was conferred upon him by Trinity College, in 1868; and the degree of Doctor of Laws by Kenyon College, in 1868. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Durham, England, 1888.

Washburn, D. D., who had followed him at Hartford.²¹ His assistant was the Rev. William D. Walker, who became his successor, thirty years later, as Bishop of Western New York. Connected with the parish was Calvary Mission, which became Walker's special charge and which he developed into a large and important work. Dr. Coxe was at Calvary Church but for a little more than two years, yet in that short time he saw the communicant list more than double. Contributions were multiplied and eighteen thousand dollars were raised for the General Theological Seminary.²²

The years 1854-1865, which Dr. Coxe spent in Baltimore and New York, saw great changes, in thought and action. In England, there were the High Church Revival and the Eucharistic Controversy. In 1859, Darwin published his "Origin of Species." In 1860, a Group of Oxford scholars published "Essays and Reviews"; and, in that same year, the English Church Union was formed. On the continent, Bauer, Strauss, and Renan were busy with their studies and writings. Ritschl published the second edition of his "Origin of the Old Catholic Church," in 1857. Pius IX, ambitious in Ultramontane directions, proclaimed, in 1854, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The Old Catholic Movement was gaining ground rapidly.²³

It was this course of events, together with later developments of it, that prompted much of Dr. Coxe's writing.

While Rector in Baltimore and in New York, Dr. Coxe brought out: in 1855, his sermon—"The New Dogma," and his translation of Laborde's "The Immaculate Conception"; in 1856, his sermon—"Counsels of Unity," his edition of "Morals of Liguori," and his "Letters to the Bishop of Arras" (French); in 1857, his pamphlet—"Apology for the English Bible," and another pamphlet—"Mixed Societies"; in 1858, his pamphlet—"Memorial of Carey and Patterson"; in 1859, his pamphlets—"Fixed Principles," "Three Tracts," "The Church and the Press," and "A Word for Our Fathers"; in 1860, his edition of Croswell's Poems, with biography, and an edition of Mrs. Sherwood's "Stories," with emendations; in 1863, his sermons—"Truth and the Times," and "The Mocking of Ishmael"; in 1864, his sermons—"The Liturgy of Heaven," and "The Ministry"; also, his pamphlet—"Address to the Christian Unity Society"; in 1865, his sermon—"The restoration of Unity," and his "Letter to Father Nestor." From 1861 to 1865, he edited the "Churchman's Calendar."

It will appear from the above list that Dr. Coxe's published writings, during this period, were, principally, sermons and pamphlets; together with editings and translations. The most widely read and used,

²¹*The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, p. 277.

²²*The New York Diocesan Journal*, p. 174, 1865.

²³*A History of the Christian Church*, Walker, p. 560-561.

no doubt, were his "Apology for the English Bible," which went through three editions; and the "Churchman's Calendar."

The former was a staunch defense of the English Bible, as authorized; and a protest against changes appearing in popular editions. It was the outcome—somewhat removed—of a memorial presented to the House of Bishops, in the General Convention of 1853.²⁴ Dr. Coxe's contention was for a Standard Bible, underlying the matter of the Prayer Book, and that Churchmen are the "hereditary guardians, in America, of the integrity of that golden version with which our Anglican Mother has enriched the treasury of the universe." He stated that it was "even whispered that the convention of 1856 would actually adopt as the Standard one of the editions of the (so called) 'American Bible Society'."²⁵

He carried the warfare for a worthy Standard far down into his episcopate. He criticised the undertaking by Canterbury, in 1870, of a revision; as hastily begun, and without "correspondence with competent persons in America and the colonies to inquire what kind of a revision, if any would be likely to afford satisfaction, and to gain acceptance among Christians in those populous and growing parts." He held that no revision would be so generally venerated as the old version which "comes to all the progeny of England throughout the world as a common inheritance." He said:

We can put up with the occasional blemishes of a work which is a growth from the ancient roots of English piety and learning. . . . In an age when the original text of Scripture is the subject of so much dispute, and when genuine criticism begins to marvel at the unexplored treasures of MSS, which are daily coming to light,—in such an age, to say nothing of the unrest and turbulence which mark it as a period of mere transition as regards Christian thought and theological confessions, it is painful to see good men undertaking this great work with a certain dash and flippancy of adventure which might excite astonishment, were the enterprise one of a simply literary character; especially if it were one of a common interest in the entire republic of letters.²⁶

Coxe's long continued demand for a properly authorized revision, if any, was not without effect; and, as late as 1879, the *Church Eclectic*, which often severely criticised him, in view of a revision then proposed by the American Bible Society, said:

We are disposed to call loudly for a new edition of Bishop Coxe's splendid pamphlet published more than a score of years

²⁴*General Convention Journal*, p. 182, 1853.

²⁵*American Quarterly Church Review*, pp. 421-422, 1856.

²⁶*The Church Journal*, pp. 264-265, 1870.

ago; in which he exposed the unscrupulous tampering of the American Society with the authorized English version of the Scriptures. He did the Truth good service; but they are forgetting the lesson that he taught them. Let their memories be refreshed.²⁷

“Mixed Societies” attracted much attention. The pamphlet dealt with what were, at that time, called “the grand central institutions,”—the Sunday School Union, the Tract Society, and the Bible Society, in particular.²⁸

The “Letters to the Bishop of Arras” were published by the Anglo-Continental Society, at Oxford, in French. An English translation, by Dr. Coxe, may be found in the *American Quarterly Church Review*, July and October, 1860. They were widely circulated on the continent. They exhibited the morality and tactics of the Jesuits in dealing with the Anglican Church.

The “Churchman’s Calendar” deserves more than mere mention; even in a paper as limited as this. It was, as the title page announced, “designed to exhibit an actual view of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in all the world.” It was successor to “Swords’s Pocket Almanack” and vastly more comprehensive. Each year, for five years, Coxe gathered and arranged the material. Its circulation extended beyond the bounds of the United States. In his preface to No. IV (1864), he says, —“The editor cannot but thank God for the interest it seems to have awakened, and for the kind and Christian spirit with which his Christian brethren of many religious names, and in divers parts of the world, have greeted his undertaking. In Denmark and in Southern Italy, it has been welcomed with unexpected cordiality, and is humbly helping on a great and blessed consummation.” It was much more than a calendar. It contained, in small compass, besides the usual calendar matter and clergy list, “Ecclessiography” setting forth the constitution, history and doctrine of the Church from the beginning, and in its various branches, together with current conditions. It gave a “Chronological Record” of each diocese of the American Church; and it afforded an immense amount of miscellaneous information. Its influence was incalculable.

In August, 1864, Dr. Coxe was elected Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York; and was consecrated, in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., January 4th, 1865. Bishop DeLancey, though very feeble, was consecrator. The Diocese, at that time, comprised all the territory now included in the three dioceses of Western New York, Central New York, and Rochester. Dr. Coxe became the Diocesan. April 5th, 1865, upon the death of Bishop DeLancey,—just four days before General Lee surrendered to General Grant. His administration

²⁷*The Church Eclectic*, p. 623, 1879.

²⁸*American Quarterly Church Review*, pp. 455-486, 1858.

of the Diocese carried through a long period of national peace and progress; notwithstanding Reconstruction Days, and times of economic stress and struggle. Abroad, there were increasing papal assumptions and aggressions, the rapidly developing influence of the Jesuits; counter gains for the Old Catholic movement; Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel in Italy, Bismarck and the new German Empire; and English colonial expansion.

Of the published works of Bishop Coxe, appearing during his episcopate, we are able to enumerate the following: in 1865, his sermon—"A Father in Christ," and his pamphlet—"Exposition of the General Convention of 1865"; in 1866, his "The Criterion," his sermon—"Scriptural Bishoprics," his translation of Guettee's "The Papacy," and his pamphlet—"The Moravian Episcopate"; in 1868, his edition of Archbishop Leighton's "Modern Episcopacy," and his sermons—"The Choice of a Bishop" and "Practical Wisdom"; in 1869, his "Moral Reforms," his sermon—"The Death of Bishop Burgess," his edition of Bishop Burgess' Poems, and his "Letter to Pius IX.," in 1870, his four lectures—"Signs of the Times"; in 1871, his "Lectures on Prophecy," and his "Apollos"; in 1874, his "L'Episcopat de l'Occident," his "Elements of Ecclesiography," his sermon—"The Corporate Witness," and his pamphlet—"Catholics and Roman Catholics"; in 1876, his "Covenant Prayers" and his sermon—"The Anglican Cathedral"; in 1877, his sermon—"The Russian War"; in 1879, his "Paper on Church Unity"; in 1880, his edition of "The Daily Round"; in 1881, his "Official Counsels"; in 1882, his "The Penitential"; 1884-1885, his edition of "The Ante-Nicene Fathers"; in 1886, his "Institutes of Christian History"; in 1892, his "Holy Writ and Modern Thought"; in 1894, "The Satolli Letters."

In addition to the above, there were numerous addresses, lectures, charges, pastorals, and lengthy comments which appeared, from time to time, in general and Diocesan publications.

Among the most noteworthy of Bishop Coxe's sermons is the one delivered, in 1865, on the General Convention of that year. After explaining the constitution and methods of procedure of that body, he referred to the happy termination of the civil conflict that for four years had been carried on between the North and the South and the part the Church was playing in harmonizing the two sections. The war being over, the highest duty of patriotism was to close its terrible wounds. He criticised those who were opposed to any move on the part of the Church to help the South, and said:

I am no apologist for those guilty men who brought on the war and plunged their countrymen into the miseries we have all endured together; but think of the thousands who are inno-

cent before God; think, at least, of the freedmen about whom so much is said and for whom so little is done; think of children and youth beginning their lives in sorrow; would you have all these put under an interdict?

The sermon seems but platitude in this far day, but it was no platitude then; when, though the war was over, bitterness and enmity were threatening, almost as much as war itself, the Union; to preserve which the war was fought.

In 1865, Edward Bouverie Pusey, D. D., published his "Eirenicon,"—a book proposing steps toward the reunion of the Anglican and the Roman Church. It was translated into several languages and aroused earnest discussion everywhere in Europe and in America. Bishop Coxe regretted its influence, and wrote his answer to it. The title page describes the contents of his book;—"The Criterion; a Means of Distinguishing Truth from Error in Questions of the Times; with four Letters on the Eirenicon of Dr. Pusey." He held that "the chief source of the confusions which now exist has been a misunderstanding of the word CATHOLIC, and the thing CATHOLICITY. In some fifty pages he proceeded to expose a faction in the American Church—"a party generated by the mistakes of some and by the craftiness of others, and which threatened to destroy the peace of the Church." He discerned two branches of the Oxford Movement, which had recently developed, "A right and a left," and it was credited alike with the good of the one and the evil of the other, as if it were all one and the same movement.

The right wing however was widely different from its counterpart on the left. It was sober, attached to the principles of the reformation, well-read in the fathers, deeply conversant with Holy Scripture, and truly Catholic; while the men of the left, though not without brilliancy and cleverness, were superficial, impatient, selfconceited, ignorant of their bearings, reckless in their driftings. . . . The right wing went to work to restore the Church to herself; the left began, very soon, to attempt its entire transformation. . . . The incidental work of the one was a revival of the rubrics and of what may be called the Anglican maxims, while their great work was preaching the Gospel, restoring daily prayers and weekly communions, and everywhere renewing the Church. The whole soul of the other was speedily concentrated in Rome, in the introduction of Latinisms, in candlesticks and chasubles and dalmatics, in flower pots and thuribles.²⁹

The Bishop's Criterion, by which the two parties might easily be distinguished, was set forth in "Notes" of each;

²⁹*The Criterion*, pp. 9-10.

Right wing; Oecumenical, Primitive, Vincentian, Episcopal, Liturgical, Anglican, Nicene.

Left wing: Occidental, Mediaeval, Isidorian, Papal, Ritualistic, Gallican, Trentine.

He said, "Nicene or Trentine?—that is the question."

The Bishop's small volume—"Moral Reforms"—consisted principally, of a short Lenten Pastoral, of sundry remarks at a conference of clergy, and of a second pastoral addressed to Christian women. A special value attaches to his remarks on Marriage, the Christian Home, and the Duty of Motherhood and of Mothers. "I write to call you, the Christian women of my Diocese, to arise to the glory of your mission, and to the work which it is given you to do for your country and your God."

"Covenant Prayers" are "short forms for family prayer, with special reference to the Christian covenant and the promises of our Saviour." Most of the prayers were composed by the Bishop, and are often poetical in expression as well as devout in spirit.

The Prayers were followed, in a few years, by his edition of the English publication—"Daily Round"; to which he added an Introduction and other matter.

"The Penitential" was another step in the Bishop's endeavors to deepen the spiritual life of his people. He defined it as "a Book of Authorized Forms of Catholic Absolution and Confession, and for the Self-discipline of Penitents, as set forth in the Penitential System of the American Church."

In the long introduction, in which the Bishop treats of the nature and work of sin, and of God's provision for redemption, (with adverse comment on the Roman confessional), he says:

In the spirit of a reactionary day, we have seen half-educated young priests anxious to restore the mediaeval system in our own Church, and to elevate themselves into the confessors and directors of morbid and lackadaisical men and silly women. In the primitive Church few even of the older priests felt themselves qualified to hear confessions, and hence a venerable and discreet, and a well-learned person as well, was appointed to meet the exceptional cases of those laboring under remorse, and tending to despair. Holy men shrank from the awful task and dread responsibility of confessing the scandalous transgressor, and the Church saw good reason for withdrawing the troubled consciences of women from the curiosity and inquisitiveness of juvenile priests.

"The Penitential" takes up, successively, the necessary instruction of the faithful, the penitential system, the different kinds of confession,

obsolete usages, canonical discipline, and includes "A Prymer of Devotions and Instructions."

In 1873, the Bishop published his "Apollos," the complete title of which is—"Apollos, or the Way of God. A Plea for the Religion of Scripture." The purpose of the book is to present "a clear and candid exhibition of organic Christianity, as opposed to the multiplication of sects among Christians."³⁰ He called for a return of all Christians to the unity of the Apostles' fellowship. He proposed, as Bishop Brent proposed after him:

Not that you should come to me, not that I should go over to you; but that we should proclaim a truce, and all together consent to study and to discuss, like Christians, what are the first principles of the oracles of God. I am tired of the stale word-fights of centuries; I have no taste for controversies involving old grudges and issues of the dead past. . . . If the things about which I write have not a "length and depth and breadth and height" beyond all this, I shall, indeed, speak as a fool. . . . This is, then, the seminal idea,—that there is a way of God; not a dozen ways, not five score, but one way of God. . . . Apollos, in our days, stands in his pulpit and is very fervent, but he beats the air, in spite of all his eloquence and might. . . . Apollos, sitting at the feet of the tent-maker, is not a vision of the nineteenth century. I purpose to examine the story of Apollos.

The book was liberally and repeatedly reviewed in Church journals. The *American Church Review*, as late as 1879, said, in part:³¹

No one man in this country has done more for Church Unity than the Bishop of Western New York. To his efforts is due in large measure the establishment of the "Anglo-Continental Society." But we are inclined to think that this volume will prove to be the most useful and permanent contribution he has made to this important subject. To us the arguments set forth appear to be unanswerable. . . . We know of no work which we would prefer to put into the hands of one seeking the Truth.

The commendation expressed above, in 1879, confirmed, in general, the opinion of the work given by the reviewer in the *Church Journal* when the book was in its first edition:³²

The work is done with great vividness and power, in a very dramatic and startling way at times; but always with

³⁰*Preface to "Apollos."*

³¹*American Church Review*, p. 238, 1879.

³²*The Church Journal*, p. 714, 1873.

great kindness towards those out of the way. It is not likely that those who most need the instructions of the book will be the most likely to buy and read it; but to Churchmen who ought to be—Clergy and Laity—missionaries of such forgotten or despised truths, the book will be found a mine of suggestion and illustration.

Mention is made, in one of the reviews cited above, of Bishop Coxe's part in the Anglo-Continental Society. We have already called attention to his translation, with notes, of Hirscher's "Sympathies of the Continent," and its influence. In furtherance of the interests of the society, the Bishop brought out his translation of Guette's "The Papacy"; the purpose of which was to do for France what Hirscher's work was doing for Germany. A little later, he published, in Paris, his "L'Episcopat de l'Occident," a new account of the English Church and a refutation of Roman Catholic attacks. Naturally, it received little attention in America; but it played an important part in the Church Unity movement abroad.³³

The Bishop was a keen observer of currents of history and their bearing on the Church. He was continuously disturbed by the aggressive program and propaganda of Pius IX, and when that Roman primate proclaimed the doctrine of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin he wrote and lectured extensively against the new dogma. He was even more thoroughly aroused by Pius' call summoning the Vatican Council, which met in 1870. He wrote a famous letter to the Pope, which he published in the Italian and Greek languages, for the benefit of the Latin and Greek Churches. The letter was translated from them into English, French, German and Bohemian.³⁴ Finally, the Bishop published an Author's Edition, in English, the full title of which is—"The Vatican Council, a Letter to Pius the Ninth, Bishop of Rome, etc., etc., etc." He addressed the letter to "The most Reverend Pius, Bishop of the Elder Rome and Metropolitan; and, also, by favor of the Oecumenical Councils, Patriarch Primate, with jurisdiction in the suburbicarian Provinces of Southern Italy; Grace and Peace be multiplied to you." The letter charged the pope with having—"issued certain Letters . . . in which, overstepping the limits of your local and provincial affairs, you address yourself, in part at least, to all the human family,—to gather the prelates of the whole Catholic world in a reunion which you wish to be considered as an Oecumenical Council." The letter—a long one—sharply challenged the pope's authority to summon such a council and stated the reasons. He affirmed that the pope's call was

³³Besides writing and translating volumes bearing on the Old Catholic Movement, he contributed a series of papers on Anglican Orders to the Paris journal—"Union Chretienne".

³⁴W. N. Y. Diocesan Journal, 1896; appendix, p. 29.

based on the false Decretals, and that Pius knew them to be false; and he said:

Know this—that should a Council truly Oecumenical be convened, its first duty would be to institute a process against you, in view of the accusations which your equals, the patriarchs of the East, have published to the whole Christian world. . . . You threaten all mankind in the following words: “Let no man be permitted to infringe this document, or with presumptuous boldness to contravene it. But if any one shall venture to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of His Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul.” . . . Who are you that you should presume to menace your fellow men in whole nations, and even your faithful brethren in Jesus Christ, with such anathemas?

In paragraph after paragraph, the Bishop proceeds to tell the pope who he is and who he is not; and concludes with “If in anything I have said I have failed in charity, I now crave pardon. My simple aim has been to speak to you the truth in love . . . and, from over the sea, to lift up my voice testifying to you in behalf of ‘the Faith once delivered to the Saints’.”

We do not know whether Pius IX ever saw the letter, but the Christian world did—East and West.

Bishop Coxe visited Europe while the council was in session, but did not attend any of its meetings. Returning to America, he gave four lectures—“Signs of the Times,” which were published in pamphlet form. In them he hastily surveyed religious conditions as he found them in Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy; he reviewed the religious history of Europe, giving much attention to the origin and development of the papacy, distinguishing between the Church of Rome and the Roman Catholic Church; he dilated on the reform movement in Europe; and concluded his series with a lecture on the seven Oecumenical Councils, which he contrasted with the Vatican Council recently held.

The Bishop’s lectures on the Signs of the Times were closely followed by another publication—“Prophecy and Our Own Times”; the design of which, he explained, is “to present, in a popular manner, some conclusions to which the writer has been led by his own studies of prophecies, under the guidance of eminent critics and divines.” Few, we believe, would interpret prophecy, today, with his literalness of application.

The Rev. John Franklin Spalding, D. D., was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Colorado, December 31, 1873. Bishop Coxe preached the sermon, taking for his subject—“The Corporate Witness.” The sermon was “a forcible defense of the Episcopate as a witness to the Truth, and

a timely exposure of the sin and tendencies of the sect-spirit of the day."³⁵ It appeared in a Buffalo paper, where it attracted the attention of a group of Roman Catholics who proposed to their Bishop that he review the sermon in a public lecture, and that the ticket proceeds be devoted to a charity. The Bishop—Dr. Ryan—did so; and his lecture was published in a pamphlet, entitled—"Dr. Coxe's Claims to Apostolicity, Reviewed. Rt. Rev. Bishop Ryan's Reply to the Attack of the Episcopal Prelate. Delivered in St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, on Sunday Evening, Feb. 22, 1874." Bishop Ryan's "Review" was a popular presentation of the usual Roman Catholic arguments against the catholicity of the Anglican Church, and did not lack, in free, though courteous, references to Bishop Coxe, personally. He quoted from the Fathers and Pope Julius 1, professed confidence in the "Nags Head" story, and took particular offense against Bishop Coxe's use of the terms "minions of the Vatican" and "aliens."

Bishop Coxe published his answer to the Review,—also in pamphlet form—with the title "Catholics and Roman Catholics by an Old Catholic; being a Review of the Lecture Lately Delivered in Buffalo by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Ryan, etc., etc., etc." He denied he had attacked Romanism and said that his reference was only incidental—"to the novelties of their theology and the crimes of the Jesuits." He regretted he had been publicly assailed, by name, in an unjustifiable manner. As to the corporate witness of the Apostles, which Bishop Ryan would limit to Roman Catholics, he said:

He forgets that in his communion the episcopate is no longer, even nominally, the teaching body of the Church. The modern Roman Church . . . makes its Bishop "a corporation sole." It reduces all other bishops to the rank of mere presbyters . . . admitted by the pope to certain episcopal functions, but not to the Episcopal Order.

Bishop Coxe reviewed Bishop Ryan's arguments, step by step. He replied to Bishop Ryan's reference to Henry VIII as a man of whom Episcopalians have little reason to be proud, by saying:

I am very glad to agree with Dr. Ryan, to a great extent, in his view of the character of Henry VIII, and I am equally glad of an opportunity to correct his impression as to any disposition on the part of our Church to take him off the hands of those to whom he exclusively belongs, the Roman Catholics. The Jesuits have been very successful in making the vulgar believe that the Church of England was founded by a man who would have burned every Anglican of the reformed Church at the stake for heresy, and whose faith agrees with

³⁵*The Church Journal*, p. 20, 1874.

Dr. Ryan's in all respects, as nearly as it could three hundred years ago. . . . Let this be marked. . . . Henry VIII was of Dr. Ryan's religion, not mine. Rome nursed him; Rome bred him: in Rome's rites he made his last confession and with the Roman Mass he was buried. In view of these facts, this, at least, may be said for his excuse; he was no worse than the clergy that taught him, and he is almost pure as compared with several of the popes whose abominable lives were the by-word of his times. It is amazing that Dr. Ryan should provoke this just retort. Can he be ignorant of the historical facts? Does he suppose that we are?

These pamphlets seem, on the face of them, to be but the record of a personal quarrel between two eminent divines of different schools of religion. They are more than that. . . . They are a concise display, in sharp outlines, of the fundamental differences existing then, and still existing, between the positions of Roman and Anglican. They are a summary of the long contention carried on between Old Catholics and Romanists everywhere.

In 1880-1881, Bishop Coxe published a long series of articles in "The Kalendar"—the Western New York diocesan paper of that time. The general heading was "Official Counsels," and they were intended, primarily, for diocesan consumption. They have, however, more than local value as chapters in Pastoral Theology. He begins by reviewing Bishop DeLancey's charge on Religious Education; speedily passes on to a consideration of Bishop DeLancey's "What is not Puseyism"; and through the remainder of the series gives his own counsels and comments. He notes a steady and wholesome growth in ritual matters, and, in respect to them, says—"Up to the verge of the unlawful I have occasionally tolerated what I did not quite approve.—With some innovations I heartily sympathize and wish I could justify them officially; but as innovations I am forced to condemn them for the common Order of the Church." These statements explain much to the Churchman who sometimes found the rulings of the Bishop to be confusing. He gave his counsels on various details of ceremonial, and his reasons for advising and charging as he did; he counselled as to the architecture of Church buildings, the kind and arrangement of furniture, vestments, weekly and fasting communions, and the proper observance of Holy Days and Church Seasons.

Other series of papers appeared, from time to time; such as a series of eight addresses to the younger Clergy of the Diocese, in 1882, in which he sought to prepare them for "the very perilous changes" taking place in the country in growth and population, and to help them become true Catholics. One series, 1883, was of counsels addressed "To the Laity," in which he warned them against "two very mischievous

schools in the Church, each of which is aiming to make it something different from what it is"—the Romanist and the Liberalist. A very long series appeared, in 1883, on "The Chrism"—a treatise on Confirmation. And another, in 1885, on "The Church of Law and the Law of the Church." It makes large use of history and has many historical references. He pictures the Church as "a blessed conservatrix of law." All the courses mentioned in this paragraph were published in "The Kalendar."

Bishop Coxe was chosen to give the first of the Baldwin Lectures, at the University of Michigan. They were delivered in 1886, and published in 1887, with the title—"Institutes of Christian History. An Introduction to Historic Reading and Study." There were eight lectures, the mere headings of which indicate their range: Introductory, The Apostolic Fathers and Next Ages, The Synodical Period, The Creation of a Western Empire, The Middle Ages, The Church of Our Forefathers, Elements of Restoration, and a Catholic View of Christendom. He advised his hearers that they were heirs of the ages and that it was his purpose to make them "great collectors of its lessons, its morals, its warnings."³⁶

The Church Review, in belated comments on the work, said, in part:³⁷

The Bishop of Western New York was fittingly chosen to deliver the first course of lectures. The exigencies of the times have generally precluded the election of scholars and divines as Bishops, the "vox populi" preferring business men. Among our few scholarly Bishops, Dr. Coxe stands *primus inter pares*. . . . The introductory lecture is more than its name implies, for it is a masterly, though rapid, survey of the foundations underlying scientific history. . . . The second lecture we would much like to see republished as a tract and circulated broadcast. . . . Dr. Coxe is so ardent a combater of Vaticanism that we sometimes hesitate to accept his challenge to the fight, but in this case all ought to do so with enthusiasm. In the remaining lectures the Bishop does not lose sight of the influence the Greek Church had during the Synodical period and the Reformation. We are inclined to think the Bishop's estimate of Wycliffe too high—We also deem that the Bishop has not done justice to Wolsey and his aims.—We cordially commend these Institutes.

The Review, in both its favorable and unfavorable criticism, is probably right; at least it seems so to us. The Institutes were, and are, well worth while, and should be better known today.

The Bishop was engaged, 1884-1885, in editing the Ante-Nicene

³⁶*Institutes of Christian History*, p. 13.

³⁷*The Church Review*, p. 286, 1889.

Fathers—a major undertaking. The work was, principally, the republication, in America, of the English translation of the Fathers put out by the Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh; to which he added introductions and notes. He was convinced “of their great promise of utility to the cause of Christian Unity.”

The last considerable work by Bishop Coxe was his *Bedell Lectures*, delivered at Kenyon College, in 1891. The subject was “*Holy Writ and Modern Thought, a Review of Times and Teachers.*” The writer of this article was present and remembers well with what interest they were received. They were criticised, of course, in some points adversely, both as to delivery and point of view, by professors and students.³⁸ But none could fail to recognize the mature scholarship of the aged prelate. He was then in his seventy-fourth year. Notwithstanding his age, his warrior spirit remained. There were three lectures; *Modern Thought*, *Higher Criticism*, and *The Highest Criticism*. He declared that modern thought is “but the same old unbelief in new disguises.” He roundly scored the Liberals in Church teaching as those who rarely tell the whole truth, who assume what is not proved, and who “victimize themselves by their own wit and ingenuity.” He summarized the position of modern thought as being a denial that genuine prophecy of future events has ever been uttered; and that miracles, or supernatural interruptions of nature, are possible. He held that to prove the fulfilment of a single prophecy, or the reality of a single miracle, was to destroy the position taken.³⁹ The lectures showed an amazing familiarity with the writings of French and German critics, both orthodox and unorthodox. In a most clever and effective way he applied the methods of higher criticism to Gray’s “*The Bard*”; and showed that the ode could not have been the product of Gray’s pen.⁴⁰ He cited the work of Lightfoot as that of a competent critic employing truly scientific learning.⁴¹ In the last lecture he condemned the disposition to treat the Bible as any other book, and said that to do so must result in “a chaos out of which the best minds of Germany are struggling to free themselves.” He demanded that the Bible should be treated like any other book in so far as research the most exhaustive and scrutiny the most microscopic can be brought to bear on it by truth-seeking and truth-loving men; and that “if the preliminary examination shall prove that the Bible is wholly unlike any book, then its treatment should be commensurably unlike the treatment of other books.”⁴²

Some of the best things Bishop Coxe ever wrote are to be found

³⁸*As professors and students are wont to do.*

³⁹*Holy Writ and Modern Thought*, p. 29.

⁴⁰*Holy Writ and Modern Thought*, pp. 87-94.

⁴¹*Holy Writ and Modern Thought*, p. 113.

⁴²*Holy Writ and Modern Thought*, p. 144.

in his addresses to the Diocesan Council. In them we find not only consideration of the affairs of his jurisdiction, as such, but his characterization of men and movements as they affected Church and State.

The Bishop was a student of liturgics, and the author of several forms of service designed for special occasions.

A final flare of Bishop Coxe's antagonism to Roman presumption and procedure occurred in 1893, when he wrote the Satolli Letters. They were published in 1894, in a pamphlet carrying the title page,—“The Satolli Letters. The Jesuit Party in American Politics Exposed and Expounded in Letters to the Ablegate, by A. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop.” The letters were a series of eight and, in printed form, filled a pamphlet of more than fifty pages. They were addressed “To Monsignor, the Right Reverend Francisco Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, Ablegate, etc.”

The bishop informed the Ablegate that during the past twelve months he had continued to place himself before the American people “in a manner alike aggressive and offensive”; that he was “not qualified to expound our Constitution to an intelligent people, nor entitled as an alien to lecture us on our duties”; that he was “not only an alien but the emissary of a foreign court, and evidently as ignorant of our institutions as of our language”; that since he had come to Buffalo where no inconsiderable number of its prominent citizens looked to the Bishop as their chief pastor, he could not permit the Ablegate's “intrusive and gratuitous teaching” to be placed before the people “without a courteous but firm rejoinder.” He trusted that many Roman Catholics would aid him in awakening Americans to the fact that Jesuits are “a band of secret conspirators against all liberty and all laws”; and he promised to prove “that it is the duty of all free people to limit and control the Jesuits, if not to banish them from their coasts.” He said:

For centuries France has maintained bars and bolts to keep out just such visitors as you. . . . If there is any true American spirit among your bishops here they will demand the same immunities, on the ground that a papal nuncio cannot be recognized under any designation by our government. . . . You have come here to establish an *Inperium in Imperio*; a permanent vice royalty under the eaves of our capitol.

The last of the letters was written on Decoration Day, 1894. He tells the Ablegate that he does not think he will remain long in our capitol. He says he has been very careful to speak of the “Court of Rome” dominated by the “Black Pope,” and not to utter any reproach upon the venerable Leo XIII whom he respects as a man of letters and as the most worthy successor of Hildebrand who has filled the popedom

since the virtuous Ganganetti. He proceeds to catechise Satolli as to some of his ignorant assertions, and tells him that these questions will soon reach him from his own people; that if he is not prepared to answer them he had better not talk of a permanent throne at our American capitol.

The letters attracted much attention, and brought from the press, for the Bishop, the title—"A Patriotic Prelate."

In concluding this paper on Bishop Coxe and his writings, we realize that there are publications which we have not mentioned. Attempts have been made by others to list them, and with a like consciousness that not all have been named. There are poetic writings, we are confident, which never saw the press; and others which were printed without his signature, which are difficult to identify beyond all possibility of mistake. The Bishop informed us but two or three years before his death that he had poems in his portfolio over which he had worked twenty years. They have not appeared. After the Bishop's death, when the question of a suitable memorial was before the Diocese, it was proposed by some that all his publications be collected in a well edited series of volumes. It is regretted by many that it was not done.

Regarding Bishop Coxe's writings as a whole, we are, of course, impressed by their wide range: poetry, history, travel, lectures, liturgiology, controversy, counsels. He is best remembered, no doubt, for his poetry and controversial writings; these having had the largest sale; though the Impressions of England do not fall behind in permanent worth. Strange as it may seem, considering his controversial skill and his free use of it, the Bishop did not enjoy crossing lances with any opponent. We have his own word for his preference for methods of peace. In 1885, he wrote:⁴³

That the days of profitable controversy are past, if ever such days were, and that an epoch is reached when those who recognize one another as fellow Christians may come together as Christians and compare thoughts and experiences and convictions without asperity; nay, in love, loving as brethren. We need not grasp conclusions; we need not seek prematurely to reach them; but we can seek a good understanding, one with another. We can appreciate difficulties and scruples of conscience, and moderate rash judgments. More than all, we can revert to first principles, and try whether we cannot again be one in the common Confession, if not in one communion.

Bishop Brent would have approved all that.

Bishop Coxe's desire for peaceful discussion, when it could be had, however, was little appreciated. Some took note, principally, of the

⁴³*The Kalendar*, p. 83, 1885.

battles he waged, and criticised him severely. The *New York Tribune*, of September 11, 1876, is quoted as saying:⁴⁴

Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, is as indiscreet and injudicious as he is sincere and eloquent. He has a genius for doing what he considers the right thing at the wrong time and in the wrong way, so that his zeal does more harm than good.

Bishop Doane, of Albany, with a better understanding of Bishop Coxe, said:⁴⁵

It is, I think, only just and fair to say that many of us, from time to time, have regretted the persistent and somewhat violent utterances of the Bishop against the innovations upon the doctrine and order of the Catholic Church by the Bishop of Rome. But it is right also to say that they were the almost irresistible utterances of a man who knew primitive theology so well that every intellectual and spiritual faculty in his nature was galled by the modern assumptions and contentions which so far destroyed that, in some cases, they about denied, the Faith. . . . He was the most protestant of Catholics in his detestation of everything Roman, and the most Catholic of Protestants in his devotion to the Primitive Church. . . . No Bishop, among us all, has been so widely known as he, as poet, scholar, polemic writer; and no man that I ever knew had given him by nature, and then consecrated by grace, more varied gifts; nor have I ever known anyone who had more absolutely and accurately, more promptly and instinctively, at his command, not only all the gifts and graces of thought and speech, but all the resources of a very wide, rich, rare learning in things both sacred and profane.

Bishop Henry G. Potter said:⁴⁶

No figure, I venture to think, has vanished out of our American ecclesiastical horizon more interesting, more stimulating, more lovable. It is little to say of Bishop Coxe that he was picturesque, inexhaustibly fresh, and original. He was all these, in a degree which makes his departure the quenching of a rare and brilliant light. But, unlike many persons of merely striking qualities, he had a deep *substratum* of lofty motives, of fearless courage, of large and various learning, of blameless and beautiful behaviour; and, best of all, of profound and unbending convictions which surely we who remember them can never cease to love and honor. His very faults, if faults they could be called, were those which leaned to virtue's side, and for myself I must confess that they were, some of them, traits

⁴⁴*The Church Eclectic*, p. 391, 1876.

⁴⁵*Albany Diocesan Journal*, pp. 66-67, 1896.

⁴⁶*New York Diocesan Journal*, p. 142, 1896.

which I have often thought we who were his brethren could well afford to exchange for more thrifty and more comfortable virtues. He was impulsive, if you choose. He was not always reserved or chastened in his speech. He had often a hot scorn of falsehood and wrong, of arrogant claims, and of insolent and unwarranted pretensions, which found expressions in words as keen and fiery as his thought. Yes, but it was not the heat of new passion, nor the tawdry declamation of a rhetorician. He knew whereof he affirmed, and his ample stores of various and genuine learning abundantly reinforced the positions which, from time to time, he felt himself called upon to take. A preacher of singular eloquence, a chief pastor of apostolic tenderness, fidelity, and assiduity; a scholar of exceptional attainments; a Christian gentleman, the charm of whose presence and bearing who that ever knew them will forget?—verily his departure is a loss which we may not soon hope to repair.

There are many other tributes of the time, from Bishops and Clergy who knew Bishop Coxe well; all bearing the same general testimony to his abilities, character, and service. What they said then remains true today, in a remarkable degree. . . . Bishop Coxe's life was so transparently clear and pure; his writings were so direct and understandable; that time has revealed no trait nor meaning that was not apparent while he walked among us and ministered his talents in our behalf. Bishop Brent, writing of Calvary Church, New York, thirty years after Bishop Coxe's death, and sixty years after he left New York, said of his ministry there that his "powerful influence—lives in Calvary to the present moment."⁴⁷ That "powerful influence" lives in the Church today; in Bishop Coxe's poems and prose, in the impress of a soul that is imperishable.

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⁴⁷*A Master Builder, Life and Letters of Henry Yates Satterlee, p. 78.*

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In addition, there appeared, during Bishop Coxe's life time, a large number of sermons, addresses, lectures, and articles, in the general and diocesan and Church papers and in other periodicals.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS 1861-1865, AND BISHOP HENRY C. LAY PAPERS

With Introduction and Notes by Henry T. Shanks

AT the outbreak of the American Civil War, Arkansas was a part of the missionary bishopric of the Southwest. When the state seceded from the Union in 1861, Bishop Henry C. Lay, the missionary bishop of that region, offered his resignation to the Northern Church's presiding bishop. At the same time he promised the corresponding officer of the Southern Church to continue his services in Arkansas. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States was organized in July, 1861. In November of the next year the parishes of Arkansas formed a diocese, elected Lay as their bishop, and requested affiliation with the Confederate Church. At the Augusta meeting of the General Council two weeks later this request was granted.

At the close of the war and upon the abandonment of the Southern Church as a separate organization, Arkansas again became a part of the missionary bishopric of the Southwest and Lay assumed the title which he held before the secession of Arkansas. On August 24-27, 1871, the present diocese was formed.¹

In Bishop Lay's papers² at the University of North Carolina are copies of documents which throw light on the formation of the diocese in 1862. Among these are the following items:

- 1) A Journal of the Primary Convention of Arkansas, Nov. 1-3, 1862.
- 2) Constitution of the Diocese of Arkansas.
- 3) Canons of the Diocese of Arkansas.
- 4) Journal of the Council of Arkansas, May 13-17, 1863, with an "Addendum."
- 5) Bishop Lay's Address to the Council, 1863.

These items which were copied from Bishop Lay's *Journal*, 1662-1863, along with a letter he wrote his wife during the meeting of the council in 1863, contribute sufficiently to the history of the diocese of

¹The proceedings of the journals of the 1871 and succeeding conventions have been published.

²Portions of Bishop Lay's *Journal* were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLIX (Feb., March, 1932), 166-172, 333-340. In these two articles, Bishop Lay gives interesting pictures of his experiences with Sherman and Grant, both of whom permitted him to pass through their lines to and from Huntsville, Alabama, in 1864.

Arkansas to justify their publication. Wherever Bishop Lay's diary adds anything to these council meetings I have inserted the information in the footnotes.

Sometimes the spelling and punctuation in the manuscript seem inconsistent. These errors were probably due to Bishop Lay's haste in copying them. I have reproduced the spelling and punctuation as they appear in the original.

PRIMARY CONVENTION OF ARKANSAS.³

November 1st, A. D. 1862.

There being twelve organized parishes of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state, viz: the several parishes at Little Rock, Fort Smith, Van Buren, Fayetteville, Hawkstone, Pine Bluff, Helena, Lake Village, Camden, Arkadelphia, Washington, Spring Hill: and St. John's Phillips County: and there being resident, and having Parochial Cures, six Presbyters, viz: Rev. J. Sandels, Rev. William C. Stout, Rev. R. W. Trimble, Rev. J. M. Curtis, Rev. Otis Hackett, and Rev. J. T. Wheat, D. D.—the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., having jurisdiction as Missionary Bishop—the Standing Committee, upon the recommendation of the Bishop, issued a call for a primary Convention with the view of organizing a Diocese and applying for admission into the General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church to be held at Augusta, Georgia, on the 12th Inst.

In compliance with which call there met in Christ Church, Little Rock, on Saturday, the 1st day of November, A. D. 1862, the following named Clergymen:

Rev. J. M. Curtis, Rector at Camden,
Rev. W. C. Stout, Rector at Hawkstone,
Rev. R. W. Trimble, Rector at Pine Bluff,
Rev. J. T. Wheat, Rector at Little Rock,

and Lay Delegates from Camden, Hawkstone, Pine Bluff, Little Rock, and Fort Smith. There being a majority of the six Presbyters present, and five of their Parishes represented, the Convention was organized by the election of Rev. J. T. Wheat, D. D., as Chairman and L. E. Barber as Secretary.

On motion of the Rev. R. W. Trimble: It was resolved that the Chair appoint a committee on credentials: whereupon the Chair appointed the Rev. R. W. Trimble and Hon. Daniel Ringo.

The committee on examination of the credentials submitted to them reported that the following persons were entitled to seats as Lay Delegates, viz.

³*The journal of these proceedings were taken from Bishop Lay's Journal, 1862-1863.*

From Christ Church, Little Rock—J. H. Crease, D. Ringo and L. E. Barber.

From Fort Smith—R. M. Johnson.

From Hawkstone—John Wassell.

From Pine Bluff—W. A. Cantrell and R. Clements.

From Camden—Weldon E. Wright.

All of whom except Mr. Crease were present.

On motion of the Rev. W. C. Stout, it was resolved that the Chair appoint a committee to prepare and present to the Convention a Constitution and Canons for the Council of the Diocese of the State of Arkansas. The Chair appointed the Rev. Mr. Stout, Rev. R. W. Trimble and Mr. L. E. Barber.

On motion, the Convention adjourned until 8½ o'clock A. M. on Monday.

· Sunday, Nov. 2nd.

Divine Service, and the Holy Communion celebrated. Convention Sermon by the Rev. I. M. Curtis.

Monday Morning, Nov. 3rd, A. D. 1862.

The Convention met.

Present: Rev. J. T. Wheat, D. D., Chairman; L. E. Barber, Secretary.

And all the Clergy and Lay Delegates as on Saturday except Mr. Johnson.

Rev. W. C. Stout, from the committee, to prepare and report a Constitution of the Council for the Diocese of Arkansas. On motion of Rev. Mr. Trimble, the Constitution as reported was unanimously adopted.

Whereupon the Clergy and Lay Delegates from the several Parishes proceeded to organize the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of Arkansas into a Diocese, under the Constitution as adopted by the Convention, and unanimously elected the following officers of the Council:

Rev. J. T. Wheat, D. D., President.

Weldon E. Wright, Treasurer.

L. E. Barber, Secretary.

Rev. Dr. Wheat, Rev. Mr. Stout, Rev. Mr. Trimble, Hon. D. Ringo and L. E. Barber were elected members of the Standing Committee.

Rev. J. T. Wheat, Rev. W. C. Stout, and Rev. J. M. Curtis were elected Clerical Delegates, and Doct. John Seay, L. B. Shepard and D. Ringo, Lay Delegates to the General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States.

On motion of Hon. Daniel Ringo, seconded by Mr. Wassell:

Resolved: That the Council now proceed to the election of a Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas: Whereupon, after silent prayer by the members, the Council proceeded to an election, which resulted in the nomination, unanimously, by the Clerical members, of the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., and the concurrence therein, unanimously, by the Lay members: And the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay was thereupon declared to be unanimously elected Bishop of Arkansas.

On motion of Mr. Trimble, ordered that the President and Secretary be a Committee to inform the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay of his election as Bishop and to solicit his acceptance.

Rev. Mr. Stout presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved: That the present disturbed condition of the country makes it impossible for us to pledge with confidence a sufficient support to a Bishop.

Resolved: That each member of this Council will feel himself bound to do all in his power to secure a support for the Bishop, and will use his best efforts to induce all Churchmen to coöperate in this effort.

Resolved: That if the Bishop elect should not accept our call as Diocesan we do nevertheless request him to continue his Episcopal jurisdiction over this Diocese.

Resolved: That these Resolutions be communicated to the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Stout, ordered that the next regular meeting of this Council shall be at Christ Church, Little Rock, on the second Wednesday in May, A. D. 1863.

On motion of Mr. Curtis: Resolved—, that this Council adjourn *Sine Die* to-night after Evening Service.

The Council then adjourned until after Evening Service.

Monday Evening the Council met. Present as in the morning. No further business appearing, the Council, on motion of Rev. Mr. Trimble, adjourned *Sine Die*.

JOURNAL OF THE ANNUAL COUNCIL OF THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS,
MAY 13-17, AS COPIED IN BISHOP LAY'S JOURNAL, 1862-1863.⁴

At a meeting of the Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Diocese of Arkansas held at Christ Church, Little Rock, on the 13th day, being the second Wednesday in May, A. D. 1863, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the organization of the Council.

⁴A brief report of these proceedings was published in *The Church Intelligencer* (Raleigh, N. C.), July, 1863.

After morning service,⁵ the Rt. Rev. H. C. Lay, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese, called the Council to order.

On call of the roll, the following Clergymen answered to their names :

The Rev. J. M. Curtis, the Rev. W. C. Stout and the Rev. R. W. Trimble.

On call of Parishes, Lay Delegates from the following churches presented their credentials: Christ Church, Little Rock; St. John's Church, Camden; Grace Church, Washington; Hawkstone Parish, Perry County; Trinity Church, Pine Bluff; and St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia.

There being a quorum present, according to the Constitution, the President declared the Council of the Diocese of Arkansas organized.

The Council proceeded to the election of a President, which resulted in the election of the Rev. W. C. Stout.

L. E. Barber was elected Secretary.

M. Peek, Lay Delegate for St. John's Church, Camden, presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:— Resolved, That the 5th rule of order be amended by adding the following words:

"Except the Committee on Finance, which shall consist of two Lay Delegates (if there be so many) from each parish represented."

The Secretary moved that so much of the 3rd rule of order as postponed the election of Treasurer until after the report of the Committee on Finance, be dispensed with, and that the Council now proceed to such election. Which motion was lost.

The President appointed the Rev. R. W. Trimble.

On motion of Judge Ringo, the Council adjourned until 8½ o'clock tomorrow morning.⁶

Thursday Morning, May 14, A. D. 1863.

The Council met pursuant to adjournment. The Bishop presiding. After prayers, by the Bishop, the proceedings were read and approved.

The Standing Committee made the following report: "That no business having been presented to them, they did not organize until the 13th day of May, A. D. 1863, at which time the Rev. William C. Stout was elected President, and L. E. Barber Secretary.

That on that day, the testimonials of the Rev. Reginald Heber Murphy, deacon and candidate for Priests orders, were laid before them; on consideration whereof they signed the canonical certificates.

L. E. BARBER, *Sec'y.*

W. C. STOUT, *Pres't.*"

⁵Rev. W. C. Stout preached and Bishop Lay administered Communion. *Journal*, 1862-63, May 13.

⁶At the evening service of the thirteenth, Rev. J. M. Curtis preached. Lay's *Journal*, May 13.

The Rev. Mr. Murphy appeared and took his seat.

The Bishop announced the following Regular Committees:

On the State of the Church—Rev. Messrs. Curtis, Stout and Trimble.

On Canons—Rev. Mr. Stout, Messrs. Ringo and Peek.

On Finance—Messrs. Barber, Ringo, Seay, Smith, Cook, Kingsbury, Bell, Anderson and Wassell.

On Elections—Rev. R. W. Trimble, Messrs. Williams and Wright.

On New Parishes—Messrs. Kingsbury, Crease, Wright.

On Unfinished Business—Rev. Mr. Murphy, Messrs. Carter and Peek.

Mr. Seay presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That Lieut. Gen'l. Holmes be respectfully invited to take a seat in this council." The Secretary moved that in absence of the Lay members of the Committee on Elections, others be appointed; which motion was adopted; and the Chair appointed members of said Committee.

The Committee on Elections made the following report: "That upon examination of the certificates presented, we find the following named gentlemen entitled to seats as Lay Delegates, viz:

John Wassell, W. E. Wright and R. L. Cook, Delegates for Halkston Parish.

R. L. Cook and D. Williams, Delegates for St. Michael's Parish.

George Kingsbury, James Carder, M. L. Bell, S. S. Anderson and W. R. Epic, Delegates for Trinity Parish.

J. H. Crease, D. Ringo and L. E. Barber, Delegates for Christ Parish.

T. C. Peek, J. Seay and R. B. Smith, Delegates for St. John's Parish.

A. M. TRIMBLE, *Chairman.*"

The Council then, on motion, agreed to a recess until after morning service.⁷

After Morning service, the Council resumed its session.

The Bishop then delivered his address.⁸

The Secretary presented the following resolution, which, being seconded, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That so much of the Bishop's address as relates to the raising of Diocesan funds, and to the incorporation of the Trustees of the Diocese, be referred to the Committee on Finance.

⁷Lay preached on "Gifts to Men," *Journal*, May 14.

⁸See below.

The Rev. Mr. Stout presented the following resolutions, which, being seconded, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That so much of the Bishop's address as relates to the repeal of Art. IX, Section 3, of the Constitution, be referred to the Committee on Canons.

Resolved: That the Committee on Canons be instructed to inquire whether any change is needed in the provisions of Canon II, Section 2, touching the credentials of Lay Delegates.

The Rev. Mr. Curtis presented the following resolution, which was seconded and then unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the Bishop's address in general be referred to the Committee on the State of the Church.

On motion of Mr. Anderson, it was resolved that when the Council adjourn, it shall stand adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

On motion of Daniel Ringo, so much of the 3rd Rule of Order as prescribed that the election of Treasurer should be after the report of the Committee on Finance was suspended.

On motion, it was resolved that the Council now proceed to the election of Treasurer.

Mr. William B. Wait was nominated by the Secretary. By unanimous vote the ballot with dispensed with, and Mr. Wait was unanimously elected, *viva voce*, Treasurer of the Council.

Mr. Peek presented the following resolution, which, on being seconded, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That a special committee of Three be appointed by the President to inquire into the expediency of printing the Journals of the Council in pamphlet form, and also into the mode of raising the means of paying for the same.

The President appointed Messrs. Peek, Barber and Cook, the special Committee.

On motion, the Council then adjourned.⁹

Friday Morning, May 15, 1863.

The Council met pursuant to adjournment.

After prayers by the Bishop, the following resolution was presented by Mr. Crease, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the Committee on New Parishes be instructed to revise the list of parishes as published in the last journal, and to report whether any change is needed in such enumeration.

The Bishop called for parochial reports, which were presented.

The Chairman of the Committee on Finance presented their report,

⁹*Rev. R. W. Trimble preached at this service. Lay's Journal, May 14.*

with accompanying resolutions, which, after discussion, was recommitted to the Committee.

On motion, the Council proceeded to the election of the Standing Committee, which resulted in the election of Rev. Messrs. J. T. Wheat, R. W. Trimble and W. C. Stout, and D. Ringo and L. E. Barber.

On motion of Rev. W. C. Stout, it was resolved that the Council will proceed to the election of Clerical and Lay Delegates to the General Council.

The Council then took recess until after Morning Service.¹⁰

After Morning Service, the Council proceeded to the election of Clerical and Lay Delegates to the General Council; which resulted in the election of Rev. Dr. Wheat, Rev. W. C. Stout and Rev. C. M. Curtis as Clerical Delegates, and Rev. Mr. Trimble, Rev. Mr. Sandels and Rev. Mr. Hackett as their alternatives—Messrs. L. E. Barber, John Seay and Marion W. Lewis as Lay Delegates, and T. C. Peek, A. G. Brown and S. G. Guffeth as alternatives.

The Bishop announced that he appointed the Rev. Mr. Sandels to preach the Council sermon at its next session.

The Council proceeded to the election of the Trustees of the Diocese, which resulted in the election of Hon. Daniel Ringo and Gordon N. Peary.

The Council adjourned until 4 o'clock P. M.

The Council met, the Rev. Mr. Stout, President, presiding.

After prayer by the President, the Chairman of the Committee on Finance made their report, on the resolution of Dr. Seay referred to them.¹¹

The Chairman of the Committee on Finance made a further report, accompanied by the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved: That the several ministers in this Diocese be requested to take up a collection in some day to be selected by them respectively, giving previous notice thereof, for the purpose of raising a fund for the relief of disabled clergymen and the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen. That they transmit the amounts collected to the Treasurer, who shall invest it in Bonds or Stocks of the Confederate States. Mr. Peek, chairman of the special committee on printed . . ., reported that the Committee had come to the conclusion that it is inexpedient to print the journals of the Council at this time.

Mr. Peek, a member of the Committee on Canons to which the subject had been referred, reported the following amendment of the Constitution:

¹⁰*Rev. C. M. Curtis preached and Bishop Lay baptized three children. Journal, May 15.*

¹¹*See below.*

Resolved: That Sec. 3, IX Art. Cons. be so amended as to read as follows:

"In all Parochial elections, none shall be entitled to vote, but males of the age of twenty-one years, members of the Parish."

The vote being taken on the amendment by orders, each order unanimously adopted the amendment.

Mr. Peek, a member of the Committee on Canons, to which the subject had been referred, reported the following amendment of the canons:

Amend Section 2, Canons, by adding the following: "Provided that certificates signed by either Warden or Rector shall be sufficient evidence of election of Delegates," which was adopted.

The Council adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Saturday, 9 o'Clock A. M.

The Council met after Morning Service.¹² The Bishop presiding. The minutes were read and approved.

The following parochial reports were read:¹³

Rev. Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Committee on the State of the Church, presented their report, which was read.¹⁴

Mr. Crease, Chairman of the Committee on New Parishes, presented a report, which was read, accompanied by the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved: That the Secretary be directed to drop from the roll of Parishes the following Parishes, viz:

Parish, Spring Hill.

St. Paul's Church, Fayetteville.

St. John's Church, Phillips County.

The following resolution, presented by the Committee on Finance, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That D. Ringo, J. Wassell and L. E. Barber be, and they are hereby appointed a committee to draft and present to the Legislature, at its next session, an act incorporating the Trustees of the Diocese of Arkansas.

The Committee on Finance presented their report, which was read, and the following resolutions, which were, on motion, adopted:

Resolved: That the Trustees of the Diocese be authorized and requested to appoint such person or persons as they may deem fit and proper to act as collecting agents; whose duty it shall be to present the subject of endowing the Episcopate, fully and fairly to the churchmen

¹²"Morning prayer without sermon." *Lay's Journal*, May 16.

¹³These reports were not included by Bishop Lay.

¹⁴See below.

and friends of the church in this Diocese, and solicit such donations, in money and notes, as they may be willing to contribute, and forward the same to W. B. Wait, Treas. of the Council at Little Rock.

Resolved: That the Wardens of the organized parishes in the Diocese, and such persons as the minister may unite with them, be also requested to act as collecting agents.

Resolved: That in the opinion of the Council the agents would have the way better prepared before them, if the Bishop would issue an address upon the subject for distribution.

Resolved: That the Clergy in the Diocese be requested to address their Congregations in reference to this matter at such time as in their discretion may seem best.

Mr. Peek presented the following resolution, which, being seconded, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That it is the opinion of this Council that the sum of at least ten thousand dollars should be raised by the church in this Diocese during the present year for the permanent endowment of the Episcopate; and that we, the members of this Council, pledge the utmost of our individual efforts to the attainment of that end.

Rev. Mr. Murphy, from the Committee on Unfinished Business, verbally reported that upon examination, they find no unfinished business remaining, but to determine the time and place of the next regular meeting of the Council.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Murphy, it was determined that the next regular meeting of the Council be held on the 2d Thursday of May, A. D. 1864, in Christ Church, Little Rock.¹⁵

On motion,

Resolved: That the Council having now finished its business, stand adjourned until after Evening Service tomorrow, when it will be reassembled, not for the purposes of business but that its members may receive the parting words and final instructions of their beloved Bishop.

Sunday, May 17, A. D. 1863.

After Evening Service.

The Council met reassembled in front of the chancel, when, after a short address by the Bishop, it was declared adjourned *Sine Die*.

L. E. BARBER, Sec'y.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE-ENDOWMENT, &C.¹⁶

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred so much of the

¹⁵"I administered H. Commn. to 80 persons—the largest ever known in the diocese." *Lay's Journal*, May 17.

¹⁶See above.

Bishop's address as relates to the raising of Diocesan funds, respectfully report that they fully concur in the views expressed by the Bishop as to the importance of raising sufficient funds to endow the Episcopate. They cannot doubt, if a liberal endowment is realized, that it will exact a controlling influence for good upon the future welfare and success of the Church in this Diocese. They therefore earnestly hope that the special agents, to whose hands this duty may be committed, will devote themselves with energy and zeal to the work, that the clergy and laity may cordially unite in aiding their efforts, and that all to whom an appeal shall be made whether Churchmen or friends of the Church may feel it a privilege to make liberal donations.

The committee present herewith such resolutions as they believe will carry out the views entertained by the Council as to the means best calculated to insure success.

Respectfully submitted,

L. E. BARBER, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, ON DR. SEAY'S RESOLUTION.¹⁷

The Committee on Finance beg leave to report, in reference to the resolution offered by Mr. Seay, and referred to them, that previous to a consideration of the subject involved in the resolution, a communication had been addressed to the Chairman of this Committee by the Bishop, in which he had acknowledged, in addition to many benefactions from members of the church, the receipt of sundry sums of money for his support: From members of the church in Little Rock, \$175; in Camden, \$150; in Spring Hill, \$20; in Arkadelphia, \$290; in Pine Bluff, \$300; from a source unnamed, \$10. And in a conversation between the Bishop and the Chairman of this Committee, since the reference of the resolution, he has expressed a cheerful willingness to rely for his support upon the willing contributions of the members of the church during the next canonical year, not doubting that an equal contribution will be made in the future, if not a greater than in the past, by those parishes already named; and that others will also add their mite. Your Committee have therefore concluded to respond to the resolution under consideration by urging with earnestness upon the several parishes and churches, that they make good the faith reposed in them by the Bishop, and this Committee, by making from time to time liberal contributions for his support.

L. E. BARBER, *Chairman*.

¹⁷See above.

FROM REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE OF CHURCH.¹⁸

Diocese organized Nov. 1, 1862. Admitted same month into union with Pro. Epis. Church in Confederate States, Rt. Rev. H. C. Lay, D. D., elected Bishop. Accepted.

Statistics for five parishes:

Baptisms	310.
Confirmations	102.
Communicants	359.
Marriages	13.
Burials	83.
Pupils in Sunday Schools.....	224.
Teachers	35.
Contributions—Com. Alms.....	\$1,001.80
Diocesan Missions.....	183.15
Episcopal support.....	1,000.00
Other objects.....	4,304.00

Recommend:

Endowment of Episcopate raising relief funds for disabled clergy, &c. The rearing and educating of a native ministry.

ADDENDUM¹⁹

This Convention of 1863 was the last that was held in Arkansas during the war.

During the month of June in this same year the Bishop of Arkansas made a partial visitation of Louisiana, in Morehouse Parish, confirming three persons in the Church of the Redeemer, nineteen persons, all negroes, at Harrison and Duval's Quarter and eighteen persons at Bastrass.

Renewing this visitation in July, he confirmed sixteen persons in Shreveport, two persons in Trinity Church, De Soto, and sixteen persons in Alexandria. He also visited other congregations, and so traveling by chance conveyance. Sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot, he reached the mouth of Red River.

The rapid occupation of Arkansas by hostile forces hindering his return, and fearing a renewal of imprisonment, Bishop Lay crossed the Mississippi in a skiff and after many adventures found his way to Virginia.

In June, 1864, he proceeded to Georgia, attending the meetings of the Committee on the Revision of the Prayer Book, assisting at the funeral of Bishop Polk, officiating at many places, Fort Sumpter in-

¹⁸See above.

¹⁹This was added by Bishop Lay after the war.

cluded, where he witnessed the attack on Fort Johnson. He then consented, at the invitation of the Bishop of Georgia, to assume the oversight of the Chaplaincies in the Army of the Tennessee, and joined that army about the time it fell back upon Atlanta. He held no commission, but was recognized by common consent as "Missionary Bishop to the Army of the Tennessee."

The Rev. Dr. C. T. Quintard, that most zealous and efficient of Army Chaplains, associated himself with the Bishop, occupying together a tent at Head Quarters, and messing with General Shoup, the Chief of Staff, throughout the siege. Numerous services were held, chiefly in Hospitals and in the open air. Many were also confirmed on sick beds, under an arbour, and sometimes, at an unexpected encounter, under the shade of a tree on the roadside, including Gen. Hood, Commander in chief, officers of various grades, and privates.

The Bishop continued with the army or in its vicinity, until the march of Sherman to the sea-coast. Then, with a courtesy which the recipient remembers with grateful appreciation, the Federal commanders Sherman and Grant gave him a safe-conduct, and without exacting any parole, allowed him to pass through their armies, and to re-enter the Confederate lines at City Point in November, 1864. Presently he had need to find a refuge for his family, and at the close of the war was resident in Lincolnton, North Carolina.

EPISCOPAL ADDRESS—ARKANSAS, 1863.²⁰

Brethren of the Clergy and of the Laity:

It is a matter of congratulation that the members of this young and feeble diocese are permitted amid these troublous times to meet in consultation touching the interests of Christ's Holy Church. I greet you in the Lord, and humbly pray that by his grace you may be enabled in this day of small things to lay a good and sure foundation for all time to come. It becomes us to remember that we are likely to impress upon this diocese in its infancy the character which it will bear in its mature age. May it ever exhibit a holy zeal tempered with grave sobriety, and harmonize with its love for all Catholic truth, an enlarged sympathy with all Christian goodness.

Upon the 20th day of June, 1861, I put forth a Pastoral letter to be read in the congregations, in which an account was given of the condition of affairs at that date.

It is proper to resume the narrative at this point.

During the period of nearly two years which has thus elapsed, many hindrances have interrupted our common labours. During the

²⁰*The original of this address is in Bishop Lay's papers.*

fall and winter of 1861, my own health was very feeble, and after that severe domestic trials, detention within the enemy's lines, and the general disturbance of the country prevented me from bestowing that assiduous attention upon the people of my charge which I desire to give. I have been so unfortunate also in traveling as to be robbed of a valise containing the journal of two years, so that my record of 1861 is far from perfect. About the 1st of October, 1861, I crossed the Mississippi, and in the course of that month attended an adjourned Convention of the several dioceses in the Confederate States, held at Columbia, S. C.

At this convention a constitution was prepared and ordered to be submitted for ratification to the several diocesan conventions. It adopted the word Council as more appropriate than convention for our ecclesiastical legislatures, and provided for the assembling of the first "General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America."

Oct^r 22. I received notice from the Bishop of Georgia of the deposition from the ministry of John G. Downing, a Presbyterian of that diocese.

Nov. 3. In the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, Alabama, I preached twice, administered the Holy Communion, and at the request of the Standing Committee confirmed ten persons.

Nov. 10. In Christ Church, Little Rock, preached twice, baptized an infant and confirmed one person.

Dec. 14. Visited Fayetteville, preached five times, baptized two infants and administered the Holy Communion.

Dec. 29. I received, through the flag of truce, from the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, a request for my consent to the consecration of the Rev. W. Bacon Stephens, D. D., Assistant Bishop-Elect of the diocese of Pennsylvania. In common with a majority of the Bishops in the Confederacy, I withheld this assent, upon the ground that we had ceased to be Bishops of that Church.

During the winter I officiated very constantly in Fort Smith and Van Buren. In the former place I confirmed three persons, and in the latter confirmed one person and baptized two infants.

During the latter part of February, 1862, the community was thrown into much confusion by the advance of the Federal army, and I made arrangements to remove my family to a place of greater security.

Feb. 18. I committed to the grave the body of my son, Thomas Atkinson. It was a dark and lonely day, a time of public apprehension when I could not call on friends to aid me. I buried him with no other help than that of my domestics, and myself read the office for the dead.

Before leaving Fort Smith I assented to the consecration of the Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D., Bishop-Elect of Alabama. I had proposed to assist at the consecration of this beloved friend and brother, but did not receive timely notice. Personally, no one could be more acceptable as the first Bishop in the new order of things than Bishop Wilmer. I trust that the diocese of which I was for many years a member may be largely blessed and prospered under his judicious and energetic administration.

It deserves to be mentioned that this consecration preceded the adoption of our ecclesiastical constitution. In the absence of any specific code touching Episcopal elections and consecrations, strict regard was had to the rules of the ancient church which require the assent of the Bishops of the Province, and the same order was observed. So far as circumstances permitted, which prescribed under the old constitution and canons.

March 2. At Fort Smith, baptized an infant.

March 16. In Christ Church, Little Rock, I preached twice, confirmed fifteen persons and addressed them. During the week following I preached four times.

April 6. In Memphis, preached three times. I here found Bishop Otey in very feeble health. An arrangement had been made for him and myself to supply such Episcopal services as might be needed in the diocese of Louisiana, the feeble condition of his health forbidding any exertion. It was agreed that I should, after conveying my family to Huntsville, return in three days to Memphis and proceed to New Orleans.

April 8. I passed Corinth on the night after the battle of Shiloh and came to Huntsville.

April 11. On waking I was informed that the enemy in large force had possession of the town. So unexpected was their coming that very few were able to make their escape. For nearly five months Huntsville remained in the possession of the Federal army, and its citizens were subjected to such indignities and wrongs as they have everywhere inflicted on the helpless. For two weeks of this period I was imprisoned, in common with eleven citizens of the town, arrested as hostages; most of the time I was in solitary confinement under guard. The twelve prisoners subsequently published a statement, the substance of which has been generally circulated through the public journals.

After the first month had passed, the Rector of the parish resumed the public services of the Church (the prayer for the President being disused) and I read prayers and preached on many occasions. My earnest advice to the clergy is not to permit themselves to be detained within the Federal lines if escape be practicable. Should they, how-

ever, be so detained, I think it better to omit the state prayers than to deprive the people altogether of the public services of religion. I am sure that no one in Huntsville, friend or foe, misconstrued our true position, or supposed that we were the less loyal to the Confederate government because under a resistless military power we ceased to pray publicly for its constituted authorities. The Church could scarcely design to teach that for months or years we must deprive the people of instruction and sacred rites because a mailed hand resists the utterance of one formula.

During this sad period another sorrow was added to us, and God removed from us our only daughter, a little girl of seven. In that trying season the people to whom I had so long ministered, and their little children, mingled their tears freely with ours, and taught us how genial Christian sympathy can soothe the wounds which God alone can heal. These dear people poured back abundantly into my bosom the consolations which I had often endeavoured to dispense to them in their troubles; and though we sorrow much for our little ewe-lamb, we look to him who restored to Jairus the little damsel. The Federal army evacuated Huntsville on the 31st of August, leaving a hundred men in the hospital who were too ill to be removed. These men supposed that our soldiers would retaliate upon them the injuries done to our defenseless people, and when in the course of the same day the shout was heard which announced the entrance of one of our partizan companies, one unfortunate died of sheer fright. The Rev. Mr. Banister hastened to visit them and to assure them that they were in the hands of men whom no provocation could tempt to play the dastard and to insult the prostrate. Subsequently we visited them often, read and prayed with them. I baptized one soldier of an Ohio regiment and trust he entered into rest.

Sept^r 18. This being the thanksgiving for victories at Manassas and Richmond, I preached in the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville. It was a joyful festival to a people so long silenced and guarded. Soon after, in the absence of the Rector, I baptized an adult.

During the month following I visited Petersburg, Richmond, Columbia, Charleston and Savannah; preaching often and forwarding with success the interests of our missionary's affairs.

Nov. 12. I attended the first General Council of the Church in St. Paul's Church, Augusta. The dioceses in the Confederate States were represented in both houses with the exception of Tennessee, Louisiana and Florida. The presence of the enemy has hindered these from holding their Councils and acceding to the constitution, so that they are not yet members of our ecclesiastical confederation.

Nov. 14. Received from the Bishop of South Carolina notice of the degradation of Thomas J. Girardeau, a Presbyter of that diocese.

Nov. 17. The Rev. Dr Wheat arrived and brought the first intelligence of the organization of this diocese and of my election as its permanent Diocesan. Subsequently the diocese was admitted into union and my election confirmed.

I have not hesitated, dear brethren, to accept the relation at first established by others, and now made permanent by your voluntary choice. I ask nothing more of you than a continuance of the affection and confidence which you have given me far beyond my deserts. I can only assure you that my work in Arkansas has become the chief pleasure, as it is the great duty of my life, and the precedence which I claim among you is the largest share of pains and labours necessary to build up the Church. I am not careful touching the matters alluded to in the resolutions transmitted to me by your order. I seek not yours, but you, and am happy in the thought that "the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children"—I pray God that by his help I may daily become less unworthy of the office He has bestowed upon me in the Church, and of the place to which you have admitted me in your hearts.

The General Council adjourned on the 22nd of November, after a session characterized by a singular exhibition of harmony and brotherly kindness— Our final severance from the Ecclesiastical Legislature of the Church in the United States was effected without one word of bitterness on our part, and in the fear of God we open a new volume in our history.

PREPARING TO RETURN TO ARKANSAS

Dec. 7. I preached in the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, and by permission of the Bishop of Alabama, confirmed my brother, an officer in the Confederate service.

Dec. 14. In Christ Church, Mobile, preached twice. I would here express my gratitude to this congregation, its Rector and its Sunday school for their most generous contributions to this diocese.

Dec. 21. I preached in Jackson, Miss., and spent a day at the residence of Bishop Green.

Dec. 22. Crossed the river at Vicksburg and was conveyed by wagon past the gunboats to the end of the railroad a few days after the road was broken up by the enemy. After sundry vicissitudes, I reached Pine Bluff, and Dec. 28, being the first Sunday after Christmas, preached and confirmed eight persons and addressed them. I was gratified to observe how this congregation has struggled on under many difficulties.

They occupy a borrowed Church, but had decorated it with festive wreaths, and celebrated a Christmas festival for children at which I would gladly have been present.

Jan^y 3rd, 1863, I reached Little Rock. The Rector of this parish, the Rev. Dr Wheat, had been sorely bowed down by sickness and distress— Two sons, than whom the Confederacy had no more gallant soldiers, had fallen in the defence of their country, and left him sadly desolate. It was arranged at Augusta that I would supply his parish during the winter months, and thus afford him an opportunity of rest and quiet among friends in North Carolina. It is matter of deep regret to his parishioners and to us all that the infelicities of the times still hinder his return.

During the months of January, February and March I remained very constantly in Little Rock, preaching and administering the Holy Communion, and baptizing in the time four infants, and burying four persons. Most of the services were held in private houses. The severity of the season, the scarcity of provisions, the unalterable sufferings of the army on and after its retreat from Fort Smith to Little Rock make this winter a memorable one— We could not complain that the freezing and diseased soldiers were housed in the church. For the scrupulous care taken of the building and the return of it without injury or defacement, we are under great obligation to the gentlemen of the Medical Staff.

An effort was made by the ladies of the congregation to provide for the wants of the sick. I regret that we were not able to maintain these arrangements; the difficulties in the way amounted sometimes to impossibilities— Still, much good was done by them. I was often in the hospitals, until admonished by painful experience that I had not the strength and health to labor as I would desire to do. It is among my greatest troubles that I have so often need to crave indulgence for physical infirmities.

March 22. Visited Pine Bluff, preached twice and confirmed four persons.

Towards the close of Lent, the church in Little Rock was restored to us, and on Good Friday,

April 3. I preached and baptized three adults— I also preached on Easter Eve.

April 5. Easter. I preached twice, baptized an infant, confirmed four persons, and administered the Holy Communion.

April 6. Baptized an infant, and set out upon a visitation, traveling on horseback.

April 8. In Princeton, preached at night in the Presbyterian Church.

I understand that there are three Church families in this vicinity. I regretted that I could not visit them.

April 10. In Camden, preached twice, and also on the next evening.

April 12. 1st Sunday after Easter. In the same place after early morning prayer I catechized the children. At the midday service, preached, confirmed five persons and addressed them, and administered the Holy Communion. In the afternoon preached to the servants, and at night preached again. I also preached the next morning.

My good brother, the Rector of this parish (always affectionately considerate of my health and comfort), is not responsible for a multiplication of services on a single day which did me some injury. Necessity obliges me to suggest in this connection that where a service for the servants (which I earnestly desire whenever practicable) necessitates three sermons on Sunday, catechism and confirmation be arranged for some other day.

April 15. Accompanied by Mr. Curtis, I came to Falcon, and preached at night. I was here kindly entertained by residents, none of whom are of our communion.

April 17. At Lewisville, I preached twice in the Methodist Church; I also baptized eleven children, and confirmed two persons and addressed them.

At this place, which I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Murphy for visiting previously, I found about eight communicants. Arrangements are made for Mr. Murphy to hold a monthly service.

April 18. Visited Spring Hill. I here preached five times (once to the negroes), confirmed three persons and addressed them and administered the Holy Communion.

April 23. Visited Washington. I here preached seven times (once to the negroes), baptized one adult and seven children, confirmed three persons, and administered the Holy Communion.

April 28. At Royston, Pike C^{ty}, where I found three communicants, preached in the morning, and at night to the negroes. I was gratified to find that domestic teachings was begun with the factory hands— Some of them being Georgia negroes, although ignorant of the Church, knew the Creed, by transmission from their fathers.

May 1st. Came to Arkadelphia, where I found Mr. Curtis, who had preceded me and held services for some days previous. I preached four times, baptized two children, confirmed three persons and addressed them, and administered the Holy Communion.

Here, as in Washington, a gratifying interest was exhibited in the services, and an earnest desire to secure a resident minister.

May 6. Still accompanied by Mr. Curtis, who gave me valuable

assistance, I visited Hot Springs. Here I preached twice, baptized two adults and ten children.

RETURNING TO LITTLE ROCK.

May 10. In Christ Church I preached twice and baptized five children.

Other parishes being within the lines of the public enemy, I have not visited— Fayetteville is desolated, and Van Buren nearly so by repeated raids.

The parish in the latter place was plundered of a valuable communion service— Our beautiful church at Helena has been occupied as Post Chapel by a Unitarian, and our brethren there have been visited with all the inhumanities which characterize the present invasion— At Old Lake, Mr. Hackett has been repeatedly visited and plundered, and his parishioners have nearly all removed into the interior. Upon a general review, we find calamities to bewail, but much also to encourage us in those parts of the state which have escaped invasion. A partial summary of the two years' labour is as follows: Adults baptized 8, Infants baptized 46, Confirmations 63, Funerals 4, Sermons and Addresses 170, Holy Communion administered 20 times.

Of the two Candidates for Orders on the list, one has died, and the other felt it his duty to volunteer in the army, and is now serving as a private.

Our brethren in the older dioceses have evinced a kind interest in this trans-Mississippi region and a disposition to aid us generously. The committee of the House of Bishops, to whom the conduct of missionary affairs is entrusted, have appropriated to the Bishop of Texas and myself severally, \$1,500 salary and \$2,500 for our work annually— I have abundant reason from the experience of the past to confide in the continued help and sympathy of the Church at large.

But Brethren, I would earnestly advise you that it is our duty and our interest to develop our own resources and to diminish year by year our dependence upon outside support— Each parish should claim as its right and privilege, so soon as it is possible, the maintenance of its religious services— Let us remember that too much help serves only to enervate. At present the Church has supplied me so liberally with missionary funds that I can for the next year render every necessary assistance to the clergy— Within the diocese, there has been contributed at my visitations, about \$400, for diocesan missions.

In order to establish the Church upon a secure basis, we have need to inaugurate a general system, to establish a machinery which shall survive our personal labours, to endow all necessary diocesan institu-

tions in such wise as to exempt them from the accidents of neglect and caprice. I would suggest as a question suitable for the consideration of the Council whether the time is not propitious for beginning to accumulate those general funds which are necessary to the permanence of the Church. It seems desirable also that steps should be taken to procure an act of incorporation for the Trustees of the Diocese, provided for by Canon XII.

The Constitution and Canons adopted at the Primary Council are judicious in their general provisions. I respectfully suggest that the requirement of subscription in parochial elections in Art IX., Sec. 3 of the Constitution is of doubtful expediency.

Some difficulty has been experienced in procuring suitable materials for the Holy Communion. I beg that the Clergy will not admit any substitutes for the wheaten bread and the grape wine proper to be used. It would be well in each parish to provide wine of the grapes which abound so plentifully in the forest, and I trust there are those who will do this for the Church.

We have heard lately with deep regret of the death of the Rt. Rev. James H. Otey, D. D., Bishop of Tennessee, the oldest Bishop in the Confederacy. He was a child in simplicity and ingenuousness, but a man in boldness and uncompromizing devotion to the truth. He entered upon the Episcopate at a very early age, and performed an amount of labor in his own diocese and in this and other states of the Southwest, which broke down his once stalwart frame. Much endurance and many sorrows marked his life: and at the last he laid down to die with unfriendly armies around him and with war desolating his diocese. I know nothing of the later period of his life, but doubt not he was sustained by that God in whom he trusted.

In conclusion I desire to urge upon the clergy the vast importance of building up the elect people of God in true saintliness. There is danger in a missionary field like ours that we shall content ourselves with barely calling men to repentance. It is after they are thus called and elected into God's Church that a new responsibility devolves upon us, that of gently leading them upwards to earnestness of Christian living and saintliness of will and affection. This task needs a special measure of gentle sympathy and of zeal mingled with prudence. We all feel the need of such "old disciples," such private Christians of venerable saintliness as have been reared in regions of greater religious privilege. I think we ought to preach more than we do, to Christian people, and dwell more upon the experimental topics of our religion. I have been very much grieved to see how seldom family prayer is observed: how much unnecessary work and travel occur on Sunday; how little scrupulous some of our communicants are in matters of expe-

diency and propriety. We believe in one, holy, Catholic Church: let us labour to make it holy in temper and practise, as well as in profession. Let us extend our pastorate tenderly and judiciously over those whom we gather into the Church: and crave for her, weight of example, even more than the influence of numbers. To this end, the Church system with its varying rites and ceremonies, fasts and festivals is most beautifully adapted. Let us carry this out fairly and fully: let us be humble enough to direct all our efforts into the channels prescribed by an old mother far wiser than any of her children: but let us remember that all machinery, even that of a divine pattern, without power is inert and useless. The Church is but a beautiful corpse unless the life of God be in the hearts of her ministers and her people. Favoured by divine providence with present quiet, we now address ourselves to the duty of providing for the religious interests of God's children.

God grant that after another year we may assemble under happier auspices. We trust that 'ere then the tempest of war may have died away and the reign of angry passion may be broken. But if it be otherwise, let us endeavour to bear patiently the ills laden upon by One who will not exact of us more than is right. Let us encourage among our people generous sentiments and manly fidelity to the cause of an oppressed and unoffending people. And above all, let the calamities of the times lead us to distrust all human agencies and send us daily in devout prayer to Him who can deliver from the nethermost hell!

LETTER TO MRS. LAY.

I wrote to you by courier on the 10th.²¹

Little Rock, May 17th, 1863—night.

My Dearest Wife,

It is Sunday night and I have just adjourned the Council after a week of excitement and labour, within eight days past I have written two sermons & a Convention address of some length: performed the Baptismal service thrice & the Communion as often, a funeral, an ordination with examination besides the Council affairs which occupied most of each day. The result has been very gratifying— I had been drumming up very diligently and kept the telegraph very busy on my return procuring leave of absence for delegates who were of the army. May the 10th came—a very precious anniversary—and altho' every moment was occupied. I did not fail to ask God's blessing upon you— It grieved me to feel that on this day we were so widely separated.

Of the seven parochial clergy left us (Kerr & McManus make

²¹There are many letters from Bishop Lay to his wife in the collection at the University of North Carolina; but this is the only one that relates to these documents.

nine) I expected five—but Mr. Sandels did not come— He was in Monticello, in bad health with chills— The parishes did admirably— L. Rock 3 Lay delegates, P. Bluff 2, Camden 3, Arkadelphia 4, Hawkestone 2. These were in general men of worth, who not merely consented to serve, but devoted themselves to the business with as much assiduity as I have ever seen on any like occasion. Our current business was done very methodically and well, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that the precedents established are good.

In my address I urged the importance of beginning at once to do something towards the permanent establishment of the diocese—and the committee on finance, consisting of nine laymen, held a long consultation & made an elaborate report. They recommended an assessment annually of \$2550—of this \$1000, for me, & the rest to be set apart to make a permanent Episcopal fund.

After they had described the matter I rose and bespeaking their kind indulgence, pronounced against their plan as utterly deficient in energy and power— I made a very decided speech which astonished all & somewhat worried a few—and the report was recommitted. In the end they all worked up to a solemn declaration that we would raise \$10,000 right off—and I believe we'll do it. I give \$500, Stout \$1000, Mrs. Wright \$1000, Captⁿ Adams (perhaps) \$1000. The matter is committed to the Trustees of the Diocese, Judge Ringo and Gordon Peary in conjunction with me—and every man in the Council is pledged to assist. The trustees mentioned are admirably selected, and with Mr. Barber Secretary & Wait Treasurer, we go before the community with four names that are better known and will command more general confidence than any four we could find.

We collected \$500. with which to begin a widow & orphan fund. As for my salary, I told them that the people had voluntarily here & there sent me \$1000 since January—to let me alone & raise the fund— To this they consented tho' with reluctance for the present—

You can never be a rich woman, dear wife. It is my destiny here as in the nativity, to postpone the time when the big salary is to begin.

During the Council I baptized two adults, one a Jewess—and several infants—confirmed ten, among them.

Frank Ringo, Fay Hempstead & Kirkwood—all about 16—the two Merrick girls & two Surgeons in the army. They came forward in a body and made their first communion— I preached on ascension— on Friday night to young men, and the ordination sermon on "*Then shall I teach thy ways to the wicked—*"

I missed Mr. Sandels, for the preaching was not effective. I may say to you that I have to pull the wagon over here almost by myself— You don't know what a trial it is to sit in the Chancel and hear my

clergy preach with no power. Ah me! if I only had some real ability to back me— As it is, the whole weight of the diocese is on my shoulders.

Tonight after service I called the Council to order. The laity stood below the Chancel & the clergy by my side while I addressed them & while we sung “Blest is the tie”— Then all kneeled down—some who had never kneeled before, in front of the people—prayer was said & the benediction uttered. It was an interesting occasion in the history of our young diocese.

May 20th. Still very busy, consulting over our schemes, writing, printing &c. Besides this, I have another class for confirmation next Sunday, and the laxity of notions with some about the qualifications, require me to be very careful. A considerable correspondence is required about our endowment matters— Today I heard of a chance to write to Mr. Hackett, whom I wish to remove to Lewisville— It was a hot dusty morning— I had to walk all over town twice to hunt information, and by 10 o’clk utterly gave up and have been on the bed all day— I think I would last longer if somewhat better care were taken of me—if I had a horse and a servant &c.

To add to my troubles, Clarissa has blown up— I am greatly disappointed, for until her horseback trip, she had done well— I had to leave the Council to regulate matters— Mrs. Burns was angry and is mortified— I am greatly indebted to Mr. Keats for agreeing to take her knowing all— They will probably keep her spinning.

I can’t but be very low-spirited at the prospect before me. I can only see that if I go away now, everything in the diocese and in this parish falls into confusion. The people have lost respect for Dr. Wheat by his surrender of duty to his wife’s caprices. I hope to arrange so as to secure Mr. Sandels’ services temporarily whenever I can get away. And I do trust a gracious Providence will suffer me to get back to you before the summer is far advanced. Our mails are stopped, the river regions overrun, our news only rumours, & our hearts very sad. I long to see you more & more and fear lest the alternations of war may increase the barriers between us—

Much love to Mrs. Rice and all friends— Kiss the dear little ones for me—how I wish to see their sweet faces— Try and keep up a good heart until we can meet again— If I am kept away, keep Henry with you and settle Agries’ school bills— Believe me most fondly

Your own husband

H. C. L.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life.

By William Wilson Manross, Ph. D. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. 270 pp. \$3.25.

This book, by the author of "A History of the American Episcopal Church" (Morehouse-Gorham, 1935), is a Columbia University doctoral thesis. It is listed by that University as one of its "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," and is a constructive contribution to American religious and social history. The author's justification for selecting the Episcopal Church among American religious groups and the period from 1800 to 1840 may be summarized as follows:

(1) "The shift in historical interest from the study of political contests and military campaigns to the investigation of more fundamental trends in social and economic development, which has been characteristic of recent years," necessitates the study of religious history as an important factor in social development. The arguments for the study of American religious history were never more ably stated than by the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson in his presidential address, "The American Acta Sanctorum," before the American Historical Association thirty-one years ago and published in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1908, pp. 286-302, and will repay careful reading.

(2) The American Episcopal Church has exerted an influence over American history out of proportion to its size and is evidenced by the fact that the recently published *Dictionary of American Biography*, the outstanding authority in its field, devoted to recording the lives of those who have made some signal contribution to the "making of America," included, besides an unknown number of laymen, 242 bishops and other clergymen of the Episcopal Church—the largest number of any American church.

(3) It was during this period, 1800-1840, when all denominations were competing intensively for national leadership, that the Episcopal Church attained the same relative rank among the denominations, as to numerical strength, which it occupies today, namely, sixth place; and this without benefit of the large immigration which has characterised the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches. During these forty years the Episcopal Church climbed out of the "slough of despond" which afflicted it worse than any other church immediately following the Revolutionary War. In short, during this era the Episcopal Church "found itself."

(4) The first four decades of the Nineteenth Century saw the creation of those religious institutions which we think of as typically modern—our theological seminaries, missionary societies, Sunday schools, Bible and tract societies, guilds and sewing societies. It was then that the initial adjustment to a democratic environment and the advancing frontier was made.

(5) The schools of thought and the ecclesiastical party lines, however much they have changed in nomenclature and however much they have been enriched by the Oxford and Broad Church movements, are fundamentally those of the old Evangelicals and High Churchmen.

Dr. Manross opens his study of Church life with a chapter on "The Colonial

Background," which is about the finest summary of the colonial Church within the compass of 28 pages we have ever read. In Chapter II he outlines the growth of the Church in the early Nineteenth Century and then the different aspects of the Church's life are considered under the following chapter headings: "The Rector," "The Missionary," "The Parish," "The Services," "The Layman," "The Layman at Work," and "Conclusion." An appendix compares the standing of the leading American churches as of 1850 with their standing in 1926. An extensive bibliography of 18 pages and an excellent index complete the volume. The whole work is heavily documented, almost every statement being supported by a footnote with one or more references, the nine chapters having a total of 738 footnotes ranging from 12 in the last chapter to 159 in Chapter III. In the bibliography, page 250, "the Rev. Samuel Fowler" should read "The Rev. Andrew Fowler."

The chapter on "The Rector" is fine. We find here the classes from which the clergy came, his education and the rise of educational institutions, especially the seminaries and Church colleges, the books he had to study, his probable salary, the kind of a woman he was likely to marry, what his parish duties were, etc. The purchasing power of a pound in the Middle Ages was about forty times what it is today. How much greater was the purchasing value of a dollar one hundred years ago than today? If "the salary of the rector of an average-size parish ranged from \$500, or a little less, to \$1,000 a year," that wasn't as small as it appears by modern standards.

The chapter on "The Missionary" well expounds the reasons for the Church's slowness in reaching the West, the origins of the missionary societies, a missionary's life on the frontier, and a survey of the first missionary fields.

"The Parish" discusses how one might be organized, the origin of the vestry system, cost of church buildings, types of architecture, furnishings of a church and their location in it, problems of heating and lighting, and finances.

"The Services" illustrates the differences between then and now, for while the Prayer Book services were essentially the same, the emphases varied. The Eucharist was infrequently celebrated, and probably in no church was it celebrated every Sunday. Services and sermons were longer, vestments were different, Evangelicals were generally more popular preachers than High Churchmen (Hobart being an exception), prayer meetings were regularly held by Evangelicals and very few if any week-day services by High Churchmen, the members of the congregation began to say the responses which properly belong to them and the parish clerk was abolished, organs began to appear, the music was enriched, choirs were introduced, and chanting and hymn singing spread rapidly. In 1841 an English visitor ranked American church music above that of the mother country. Private baptisms declined and public baptisms increased. Among the great festivals Christmas was then more popular than Easter and the secularization of the former was beginning to be evident before 1840.

The late Dr. Jameson stated in his above mentioned address: "The history of religion in America holds a peculiarly close relation to the general history of the American spirit from the fact that here, more than elsewhere, the concerns of the churches have been managed by the laity or in accordance with their will." This being so, Dr. Manross very properly gives us two chapters, one on "The Layman" and the other on "The Layman at Work." Biographical data on laymen in the early 19th Century are relatively scarce, but the author has made the most of the available materials and his general conclusions cannot be far wrong. Most of the laymen of the forty years studied were of the middle or upper middle

class, town or city dwellers, and many came into the Episcopal Church from other religious bodies. Activities of women in the Church are also described.

The section on the Church press should be expanded into a separate chapter. Not only did the Church press have its rise in this period, but it was, relative to the size of the church population, more widely read and probably had a greater influence than today. The Church press has never had its just dues in American Church history. While we are awaiting the completed researches of Mr. Clifford W. Morehouse, editor of the *Living Church*, the reader is referred to *Historical Magazine*, V, 228-237, for a list of Church periodicals in the library of the General Seminary, probably the most extensive in any single library in the country. In this list, those classed as "general" number 74, of which 17 antedate 1840; of the 84 classed as "diocesan", 4 antedate 1840; of the "local" class, 10 out of 125 antedate 1840. In short, 31 out of 283 separate periodicals of the Episcopal Church existed in the period before 1840. In addition to those mentioned by Dr. Manross, the following should be noted:

GENERAL.

Christian Observer, Boston, 1802-1874.

Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, 1831-1880.

Evangelical Guardian and Review, New York, 1817-1819.

Home Missionary, New York, 1817-1819.

Layman's Magazine, Martinsburg, Va., 1815-1816.

Literary and Theological Review, New York and Boston, 1828-1834.

Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register, Philadelphia, 1830-1837.

Southern Churchman, Richmond, Va., 1835—to date.

DIOCESAN.

Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, Hartford, 1800-1807.

Missionary, Burlington, N. J., 1834-1837. (Important source for the General Convention of 1835).

Christian Witness, Boston, 1835-1863.

In "The Layman at Work" the history and development of the Sunday School are ably expounded in 17 pages, followed by a discussion of the Bible and tract societies.

In the last chapter, "Conclusion," the author summarizes the principal developments of the forty years and relates them to other religious movements of this and succeeding periods, such as the breakdown of orthodox Puritanism (from which the Episcopal Church gained greatly), temperance, dueling, slavery, and the like. His concluding sentence is:

"Though its members sincerely believe that it has a universal message and should have a universal appeal, they are forced to recognize that, in fact, it is still predominantly a church of the cultured and the well-to-do, ranking sixth, in numerical strength, among the religious denominations of the country."

In considering the suggestions which have been made and those which we are about to make, it is to be borne in mind that this is a doctoral thesis and that

the author did not have an altogether free hand. We could wish that Chapter II had been called "The Bishop" or "The Era of Great Bishops," and that it had been expanded to twice or more its present length. Of the suggested titles, the former would be more in harmony with the general scheme of the volume and the latter would be in accord with Dr. Manross' own statement (p. 232): " * * * the period from 1811 to 1840 which might, not inaptly, be called the era of great bishops." This incidental reference is so true as to be worthy of a chapter heading and the bishops of that era were, compared with later periods, so few in number and so outstanding as to warrant ampler biographical treatment. Hobart and Griswold are on the whole adequately treated, but the following are entitled to more than passing notice: Claggett, Richard Channing Moore, Croes, Chase, Brownell, Ravenscroft, Meade, the Onderdonks—Benjamin and Henry, Hopkins, McIlvaine, Doane, Otey, Kemper, Polk and DeLancey. To do so would not only eliminate an impression of "thinness", but their abilities and accomplishments were symbolical of a new day in the Church's life. They were the leaders in laying the groundwork for the period of the Church's more spectacular growth which began about 1830. It would help us to understand the significant fact not sufficiently emphasized, namely, that during the decade between 1830 and 1840, the Episcopal Church "made such an advance as it had never known before. The number of clergy doubled during this period, and for the first time in its existence its influence began to be felt somewhat generally in the community."*

A constitutional development of this period, which might be included, was the division of a state into two or more dioceses. This was precipitated by the tremendous growth of the Church in New York state. The process was initiated by the General Convention of 1835 and completed by the General Convention of 1838 in setting up the diocese of Western New York, followed by the consecration in 1839 of William Heathcote DeLancey as first bishop. Up to that time it was always the Church "in the State of New York" and not "in the Diocese of New York." Before this time, state lines as diocesan boundaries were almost sacrosanct and the wrench was hard for some to bear.

Another institution which began in these forty years was the Church boarding school—the secondary school as distinguished from the college. The Episcopal Church is not noted for its support of its own colleges, but its boarding schools for both boys and girls are quite well and favorably known. Hannah More Academy, Maryland, established 1832, and St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N. J., established 1837, were forerunners of scores of others throughout the country, and are now in their second century of service. Schools for boys were in existence before 1800, Trinity School, New York, dating from 1709, and the Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, from 1785. But St. Peter's Choir School, Philadelphia, was established in 1834, and the Episcopal High School in Virginia in 1839, and many once flourishing, even though they eventually failed, made signal contributions to the development of education. The short page devoted to this subject (p. 100) leaves one with the impression that the Episcopal Church's contribution in this field was of little or no consequence and that its experience in secondary education was altogether unfortunate. With this impression we must disagree. Bishop Doane, for example, was a pioneer in the education of women at a time when few believed that women had or could have intellectual gifts comparable with men, and even if they had, few believed that women were on any count entitled to an education on a par with that which men should receive. Doane's venture at-

*Clark, Bp. Thomas M., "Reminiscences," p. 32.

tracted national attention, and while most of the girls he tried to educate obtained not the promise, many of their granddaughters did.

A separate chapter is very much needed on the development of religious thought during this period. The outline, pp. 43-50, is a good statement as far as it goes, but copious quotations from the actual writings of the protagonists of each school—High Churchmen and Evangelicals—would give the reader a better insight into the actual thought patterns of the time. In this connection, the Rev. W. H. Wilmer, who is mentioned on page 93 and who was the real founder of the Virginia Theological Seminary, has never had adequate justice in the pages of history. Next after Devereux Jarrett, the colonial forerunner, Wilmer was the writing founder of Nineteenth Century Evangelicalism.

But we do not wish to end this review on any note of criticism but rather on one of appreciation and gratitude: *First*, when the faculty of a great university accepts and publishes a doctoral thesis on one phase of American religious history, it indicates the dawn of a better day—a serious endeavor to correct the one-sided interpretations of American history with which a long suffering public has been afflicted, wherein religion appeared to have little or no importance. *Second*, to have this constructive contribution to American Church history come from a member of the faculty of one of our theological seminaries is a hopeful sign for the future. In so far as productive scholarship in this field is concerned, our seminaries, from which we have a right to expect a fair degree of representation, have been conspicuous by their absence. *Third*, Dr. Manross has already placed the Church in his debt by his past contributions. By this present work and by calling attention to a period in our history too long neglected, he has increased our indebtedness to him. Still a young man, his most productive years should be still ahead of him, and this encourages us in the belief that we are on the threshold of the most productive era in the study of the history of the American Episcopal Church.

—WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

The Faithful Mohawks. By John Wolfe Lydekker, M. A., F. R. Hist. S. With a Foreword by the Right Honourable Lord Tweedsmuir, G. C. M. G., C. H. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1938. (Pp. xii., 206; illus. 8vo.)

Mr. Lydekker, the Archivist of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, has rendered a signal service both to historians in general and to Church historians in particular. Those subjects which form the background and setting of his narrative—the Iroquois Confederation, the contest for the possession of Canada, the struggles between the French and the English, the figures of Sir William Johnson and Joseph Brant—have been dealt with before, and far more fully than in the volume before us. Mr. Lydekker's unique contribution lies in his exposition of the real efforts made by the Church of England to convert the Indian, and in his use of sources largely overlooked until very recent years—the archive material treasured by the S. P. G. and available in transcripts and photofilms in the Library of Congress. The historian of colonial America cannot continue to ignore the vast and revealing information imbedded in the letters of the Anglican missionaries; indeed, it will be recognised more and more that the correspondence of these men, who lived so intimately with the people and who brought to their task an enlightened conscience and an education far above the average, will reflect the underlying movements and disposition of the times decidedly better than the military and political reports which have hitherto been the student's main dependence.

For years I have observed with regret the general ignorance of the efforts made by the Church of England to elevate and convert the Indians. Who has not heard of Eliot and Wheelock? Their names are familiar—and deservedly so. But it should not be overlooked that for more than sixty years there was a succession of devoted, earnest, and industrious missionaries, struggling to instruct and edify the temperamental and ungovernable Iroquois, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch traders, the French imperialists, and the Jesuit diplomats. Our people do not know—and certainly the standard American histories have never told them—that a clergyman named William Andrews worked against fearful odds, a pioneer in a most hostile environment, and that he began the translation of the Book of Common Prayer in the Indian tongue; or that another Anglican clergyman, John Miln, laboured among those warlike people from 1727 to 1736, and prepared discourses in the Mohawk language, and wore himself out at his task so that he had to return home in order to recuperate. It was the Reverend Henry Barclay, afterwards rector of Trinity Church, New York, who toiled in that precarious situation from 1735 to 1746, and, while ministering to the Indians, translated the Communion service, the order for Baptism and Matrimony and the Burial of the Dead, and various passages of Scripture as well as certain occasional prayers into the native tongue, thus carrying forward the work which Andrews had started. The Reverend John Ogilvie, who followed Barclay and remained among the Indians some twelve years, was an heroic figure. During the contest which resulted in the final surrender of Canada to the English, he served as an army chaplain and enjoyed the confidence of such men as Wolfe, Prideaux, and Amherst. Thomas Browne and Harry Munro might also be mentioned—hard-working missionaries among the Indians; and John Stuart, who began his ministrations among the New York Indians about four years before the American Revolution and who may be regarded as the father of the Church of Canada, translated St. Mark's gospel into the Mohawk language.

Mr. Lydekker has done his work well, and has proved himself a diligent and painstaking investigator. We find no reference, however, to Cornelius Bennet, catechist among the Mohawks from 1763 to 1764. Furthermore, as a treatment of "the faithful Mohawks," rather than as a special presentation of the Anglican missions among them, the book would be incomplete. Eleazar Wheelock probably deserves more notice. The fine New York official series of Sir William Johnson's papers would have afforded a good deal of solid substance not included in the S. P. G. correspondence; at least, those publications should have been included in the Bibliography. The O'Callaghan *Documentary History of New York* and the *Ecclesiastical Records* of the state are too important to be omitted. We recognise, however, that Mr. Lydekker was not trying to give a detailed and exhaustive account of the Mohawks, but, on the other hand, he was seeking to bring to light the resources of the Society's collections; in this effort, he has been quite successful.

—EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

Apostle of New Jersey. John Talbot. 1695-1727. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society. Pp. xii, 217.

John Talbot needs no introduction to students of American Church history. All know him as the companion of George Keith, as the first settled missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and as the first regularly appointed minister of the Church of England in New Jersey. In inviting us to form a closer acquaintance with him, Dr. Pennington follows the plan—in many ways

an excellent one—of giving a brief but adequate account of his career and its background and then providing us with the materials to pursue the subject further for ourselves. The formal biography fills only a little over a third of the book. An approximately equal amount of space is given to the reproduction of Talbot's letters, and the rest is taken up with excerpts from Keith's journal of their joint travels, and with the bibliography and index.

The first chapter of the biographical section gives a brief history of the beginnings of the Church in New Jersey, and throws some useful light upon that obscure period. The next two chapters describe the founding of the S. P. G. and the missionary tour of Keith and Talbot. Chapters four and five deal with Talbot's long ministry in New Jersey. The concluding chapter discusses the much debated question of his consecration by a non-juring bishop.

The work as a whole is based on careful research, and the only serious defect to be found in it is one that may have been unavoidable. Nothing is said of Talbot's early life until we get to chapter four and then it is summed up in a single paragraph. Doubtless materials for a fuller treatment are not available in this country, and the difficulties of trans-oceanic research are well known, but one wishes that more information could have been found. To know anyone well we must know something of his childhood, and Talbot would seem much more alive to us if we could learn a little about the influences which helped to mould his character.

In his final chapter, after stating the evidence, the author concludes that "there is little doubt of Talbot's consecration." With this opinion I am unable to agree. The evidence may be divided into the colonial and the English. Of the colonial evidence only two items can, in any sense, be called primary. One is a statement by the Rev. John Urmstone, who had served for a time in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and attributed his discharge to Talbot's influence, that Talbot had "convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes & demanded Episcopal obedience from them." The other comes from the Rev. Samuel Johnson, rector at Stratford, Connecticut, who wrote in 1725, "There are two noninjuring Bps in America one of them travelled thro the Country last fall & not knowing who he was, but professing himself a minister of ye Chh of England, I invited him to preach for me. . . . The Tuesday following he let me know what he was. . . ."

Urmstone was a drunken reprobate who had a grievance against Talbot and was obviously trying to injure him. Johnson is a reliable witness, but he does not identify the "bishop" in question as Talbot, and there is no other proof that Talbot was in Connecticut at the time. The rest of the colonial evidence comes from people who had no first hand knowledge of the subject and were merely repeating a general rumor. There is a significant lack of testimony from Philadelphia or New Jersey, and definite negative evidence in Talbot's own denials and in protests against his dismissal from the vestries at Burlington, New Bristol, and Philadelphia, and the rector at Philadelphia, who were precisely the persons most likely to know if Talbot had claimed to be a bishop.

The English evidence consists in the assertion by several writers on the non-jurors that Welton and Talbot were consecrated by Bishop Taylor. They all agree that the consecration was secret and irregular but disagree as to most of the other circumstances, including the exact names of the persons concerned, which shows that they are relying on oral tradition, not on written records. The earliest source to which their tradition can be traced is a statement of Bishop Thomas Brett, a younger contemporary of Taylor's. It is not clear whence Brett

obtained his information, but it does not seem likely, from its tone, that he had it from any of the principals.

It may be noted, too, for what it is worth, that antecedent probability is against the consecration. Its clandestine and irregular character is inconsistent with Talbot's habitual forthrightness and respect for ecclesiastical order, and its futility must have been apparent to anyone acquainted with colonial affairs. All things considered, it would seem that, while it remains a possibility, it is much less certain than the author supposes.

This long dissent from the argument of a single chapter is in no way intended to disparage the merit of the work as a whole. Dr. Pennington has given us an interesting and accurate study of an important figure in our Church's history.

—W. W. MANROSS.

The First Five Centuries of the Church. By James Moffatt. Nashville, Tenn. Cokesbury Press. Pp. 262.

Not so much a history of the first five Christian centuries as a commentary on the important events of that period. The author presupposes a knowledge of the historical facts and then high-lights them with his own scholarly interpretation. It makes fascinating reading, informative in matter and pungent in style. Each chapter covers a century, though, like any good historian, the author does not make artificial divisions at any given date lines. He finds five groups of events which correspond roughly with the century marks.

The treatment of apostolic Order in the first chapter is of Presbyterian flavor, but happily recognizes the family character of the apostolic Church centering primarily around corporate worship. The second century is a period of settling, both in regard to Church government and to the use of the Scriptures, with chief emphasis on the sacrament of Holy Baptism. In the third the Church had gained sufficient importance to warrant the unfriendly attention of the Roman leaders who were trying desperately to hold together a tottering empire; local persecutions became general and raised serious problems of internal discipline for the Church regarding martyrs, confessors, and those who lapsed. The fourth century enters the conciliar period when vital questions of doctrine had to be decided, when the Church itself achieved political and social popularity, and when the preliminary rumblings of papal claims began to be heard from Rome. The fifth century is one of turmoil—dissensions within the Church and the breakdown of the Roman empire all around the Church.

The author's comments on the early heresies is particularly enlightening. It is not an uncommon idea that the Church in the early centuries enjoyed a close-knit unity in sharp contrast to vagaries of modern sectarianism. Dr. Moffatt makes it quite plain that the Church has always struggled with corruptions of teaching, some of the early heresies continuing to harass its progress for centuries on end.

The parallel chronological tables, secular and ecclesiastical, are exceedingly valuable. The bibliography is exhaustive, covering titles in French, German, and Italian as well as English. A notable contribution is the extraordinary commentary on semi-historical religious fiction as a source of atmosphere and historical feeling.

—FRANK E. WILSON.

The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan. By Bishop Henry St. George Tucker. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 1938. Pp. 228.

The Presiding Bishop has laid the whole church under an obligation by the writing of the History of the Church in Japan. His outline of the Historical Background is altogether admirable and from that background he traces the development of the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church leading up to the "History of the Holy Catholic Church in Japan" by which the Church in Japan is now known. For this history he has drawn largely upon his experiences as Bishop of Kyoto and not the least valuable is the chapter on the present-day task of the Japanese Church in the evangelization of modern Japan.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Valley Forge. By Harry Emerson Wildes. The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 337.

This is the last word on the part which Valley Forge has played in the history of the United States of America. It is the supplement to the notes of eighty years ago by Henry Woodman. The author, who lives in Valley Forge, has combed every available source of information. Not only does it set forth the experiences of Washington and his troops in the dark and dreary winter, but it also depicts graphically the attitude of the inhabitants and the contributions they made to the upbuilding of the new Republic.

A Parish in the Pines. By Lois B. Hagen. Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho.

A fascinating account of the experiences of a minister who began his work in the far West among the Congregationalists and eventually associated himself with the Indian work of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota under Bishop Whipple. There is a beautiful pen picture of Archdeacon Gilfillan, who devoted his large means to the Indian work. It is a story of work on the frontiers of civilization and comes pretty close to being a classic.

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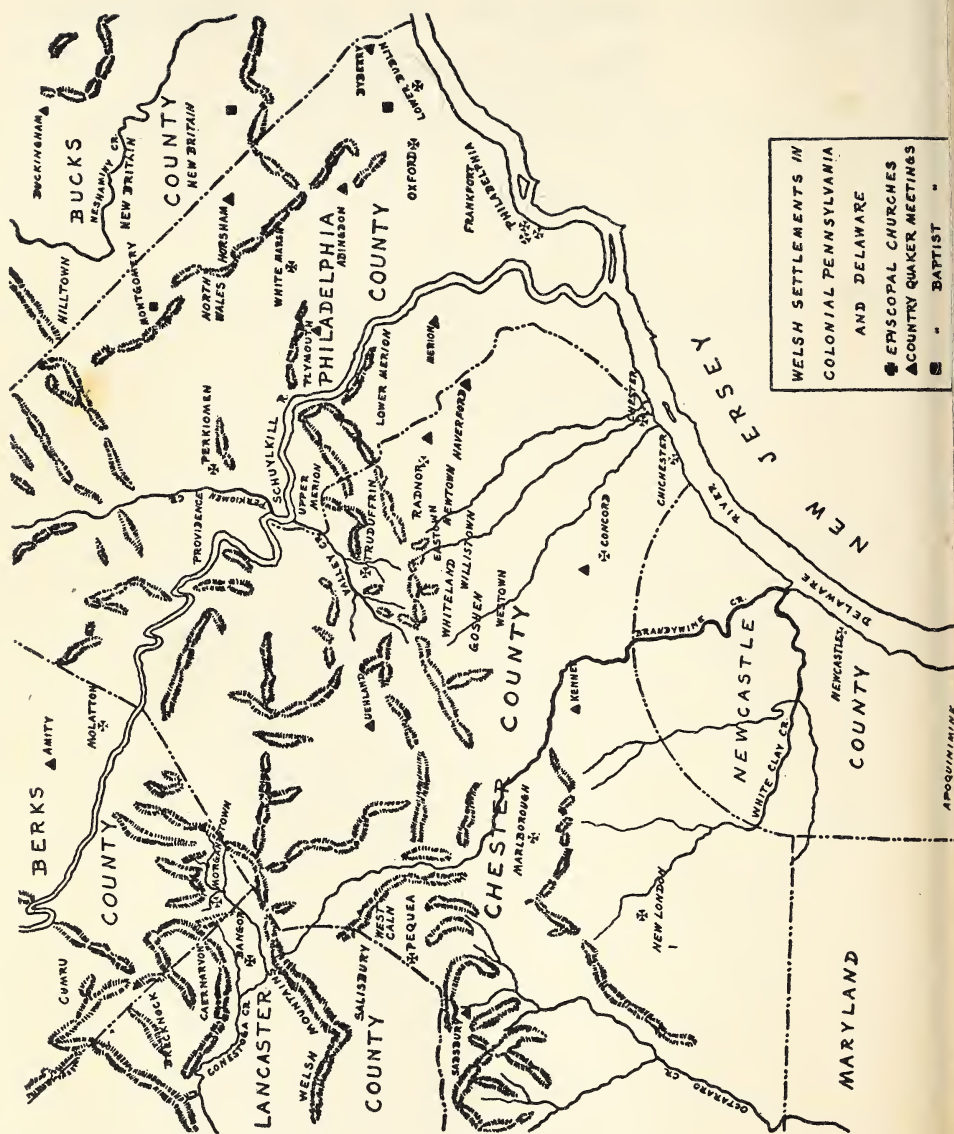
THE WELSH EPISCOPALIANS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

By Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D.

I.

WE are accustomed to think of Pennsylvania as an "English" colony inhabited largely by shrewd, soft-spoken Quakers with broad-brimmed hats, and by all kinds of "peculiar peoples" from the Rhineland of Germany. We now view its early settlement by a nation older than the English and Christian before the Germans—the Welsh: a people proud of their descent from men who resisted the dominion of Rome and of the Saxon, who had an heroic poetry before English literature began, and organized an independent branch of the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church before there were Archbishops of Canterbury or Popes claiming spiritual and temporal sovereignty over all national churches. "British" they called themselves, those people who lived among the lonely hills and on coasts thronged by surges of the western ocean, where King Arthur died and Tristram watched the rock of Tintagil smoulder in the sunset. They still loved to call themselves "British," when they pressed further west beyond Lyonesse, to the promised land of William Penn, and there sought the comfortable sacraments of their Mother Church.

Few of our text books hint to this misinformed generation that for fifteen or twenty years after Pennsylvania received a name, in 1682, the most numerous immigrants were not the English, the Germans or the Scotch-Irish, but the *Welsh*. We are usually not informed that the greatest Quaker after Fox induced them to migrate overseas to his province. The Quaker evangelists met with notable success in Wales, as some of the foremost ministers of their society were of that country.



To leading Welsh Quakers Penn made certain promises, if they would persuade the members of their meetings to purchase and settle upon his land. The conditions apparently were verbal and unhappy disagreement and controversy resulted. The Welsh, however, maintained that Penn's agreement included a promise that their whole purchase, later called the "Welsh Tract," should be a "barony" or little state, with its own courts using the "British" language. Therefore gentlemen in six counties of Wales promoted the sale of Pennsylvania lands in the monthly Quaker meetings, published Penn's "Articles of Conditions and Concessions" and secured subscriptions.¹

The Welsh Quakers requested that their forty thousand acres be laid out in one tract. Under instructions from the surveyor-general in 1684, his deputy David Powel (a Welshman) laid out the great "Welsh Tract," with five thousand acres to each township. According to the bounds, as defined in 1687, the survey included Lower Merion, a portion of Upper Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Tredyffrin, Whiteland, Wilistown, East Town, Goshen and part of West Town. Only three townships were at first laid out and given Welsh names—Merion, Radnor and Haverford. Later settlement caused the establishment of Goshen, New Town and Uwchland. This "great" or old tract was the original source of Welsh colonization and in it were established the earliest Welsh religious organizations, including the first Welsh Episcopal church.²

This was one of several Welsh Tracts. Moved by the offers of Penn and his agents, other Welshmen bought lands, establishing a tract in Chester County, one at Gwynedd or "North Wales" and another in Newcastle County, Delaware. This development was hastened, because at an early date some of the Welsh began to sell out and move to new locations. Second in importance was the "Welsh Tract" in the upper part of old Philadelphia County. Its nucleus was a large area owned by Robert Turner, which was purchased by people from North Wales and so received its name, although sometimes it was called the "Gwynedd Settlement." Immigration took place in 1698 and has been ascribed to the influence of the Quaker minister, Hugh Roberts. The tract comprised a large region north of Philadelphia, and in later times was loosely described as "Montgomery."³

Welsh settlement also reached northward into Bucks County. Welsh Quakers reached Richland in 1710 and later extended into Spring-

¹Fisher, Sydney George, *The Making of Pennsylvania*, pp. 202-204. Browning, Charles H., *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, pp. 26-27, 316-317, 342. Smith, George, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 164-165.

²Browning, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37, 488. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

³Browning, pp. 37-38, 57, 266. Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. VIII, 1884. Jenkins, Howard M., *The Welsh Settlement at Gwynedd*, pp. 174-176.

field and Durham, and about eight years later Welsh appeared also in Hilltown and New Britain, the latter place being given the name of their motherland. This migration, distinct from the one which peopled the lower portion of the county, was caused chiefly by persecution in Wales. The people of Hilltown and New Britain were Baptists and are said to have had little association with other Welsh immigrants. They were increased by later arrivals until about 1740, when the stream of Welsh settlers practically ceased. The Bucks County Welsh therefore tended to become absorbed, and probably were further diminished by westward migration, which established new settlements beyond the hills in Conestoga.⁴

For many years, however, the old Welsh districts retained a distinctive character, due to typical Welsh pride in family and cultural traditions. From the first they tried to retain their language and customs, and to secure a considerable degree of independence in government, those in the "Great Tract" ruling their "barony" in their own way without the usual county and town officers. The Welsh Quaker meetings exercised civil authority until 1690, when Merion, Haverford and Radnor were organized in the usual way. In 1685, due to jealousy of their compact influence, the provincial administration broke their solidarity by placing Merion in Philadelphia County, Haverford and Radnor in Chester. Being in a minority in both counties hastened their social assimilation, and they resisted by refusing to pay taxes and quit-rents. They were even more annoyed by the opening of the tract to non-Welsh elements.⁵

For a long time the effort to destroy their solidarity was not entirely successful. This is shown by the persistence of a heavy Welsh population in many townships. As late as 1734 considerably over three-quarters of the taxable persons in Upper and Lower Merion were Welsh, and in Gwynedd thirty-nine out of forty-eight resident taxables bore Welsh names, while in Montgomery the proportion was nineteen out of twenty-eight. At that time, within the present Montgomery County, the Welsh were one-fourth of the population, one hundred and eighty-one out of seven hundred and sixty taxables. At a much later date, 1776-1780, the assessment lists for Lower and Upper Merion, Gwynedd, Montgomery and Plymouth gave one hundred and fifty Welsh names out of six hundred and thirty-six taxables, nearly one-fourth.⁶

The same persistence appears in the amazing vitality of the Welsh language in some localities, for about a century after the first settlers.

⁴Battle, J. H., editor, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 281-282.

⁵Browning, pp. 349, 383. Fisher, pp. 204-205.

⁶Bean, Theodore W., editor, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 140-141.

There is a tradition that when Penn preached to the Welsh Quakers at Haverford, in 1701, very few could understand English. It is claimed, however, that the upper-class Welsh Quakers of Haverford and Merion regularly spoke English because of their superior education. In Radnor many certainly did not understand English, for in 1707 the Episcopalians there wanted a pastor familiar with both languages. In other places, especially in Gwynedd, the Welsh or "British" tongue and Welsh customs lasted for many generations, and many wills and other documents were written in Welsh. In 1712 the subscription paper, to collect funds for rebuilding Gwynedd Quaker meeting-house, was in Welsh, and at that time the ministers were obliged to speak alternately in Welsh and English. Indeed, the Gwynedd region was more Welsh than the "Great Welsh Tract." These settlements sent out many emigrants, who took the old tongue to Conestoga and Caernarvon and still wanted Welsh books.⁷

Eventually Welsh culture yielded to the social and political predominance of English, just as Swedish, Dutch and even German also surrendered. The Welsh, especially in older counties, were engulfed by a great flood of other nationalities and lost their identity in the emerging Americanism. This was true above all among the more cultured, as in the Merion Quaker meeting, where English and Welsh families intermarried at an early date. In the course of time Welsh family names became Anglicized: Ap Humphrey became Pumphrey, Ap Howell appeared as Powell, Ap Hugh changed to Pugh. Welsh place names have remained to the present day, often unchanged, as is apparent to anyone who notices the signs of railroad stations and highways in the old southeastern counties. Merion, Haverford, Wynewood, Tredyffrin, Eastcaln, Uwchlan, Bryn Mawr, Radnor, St. David's, Berwyn, Gwynedd, Penyllyn, Brecknock, Cumry, Caernarvon, are all on the map. The industrial and political history of the state is liberally seasoned with Welsh family names—Evans, Lewis, Hughes, Powell, Meredith, Cadwalader, Pugh and many others, including the Lloyds, long prominent in Quaker religious and political annals.⁸

II.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of their settlement, the greater number of Welsh were members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. The Baptists formed the second most numerous group, and the Episcopalians were comparatively few, at least until the beginning of active missions by the Society for the Propagation of the Gos-

⁷Fisher, pp. 202-203. Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Browning, pp. 18-19, 574. Smith pp. 180-181.

⁸Browning, pp. 18, 19, 566. Fisher, pp. 202-203, 205-206. Battle, pp. 281-282.

pel. The few Episcopalians among the earliest comers were somewhat increased by later immigration, while the Welsh Quakers, with the lifting of persecution, ceased to come in such large numbers as at first. The Episcopalians in Philadelphia comprised many Welsh, as some left the country towns by abandoning or selling their lots, while others stayed in the city from their arrival, as trades-people. This element in the Quaker capital was the nucleus from which the Church expanded missions among the Welsh.⁹

Penn's charter provided that if a sufficient number of persons should desire the worship of the Church of England, they could not be hindered. From this agreement came the establishment of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1695. Two years later the Reverend Thomas Clayton settled as the first regular pastor, and after his departure the parish was served for a time by Edward Portlock, who had been the first Rector of St. Peter's at Perth Amboy in East Jersey. A more regular ministration began in 1700, when a Welshman, the Reverend Evan Evans, was sent by Bishop Henry Compton of London, that watchful shepherd of the American colonial Church. Supported by the Royal Bounty and by generous contributions from some parishioners, he built up a large congregation, including many Welsh and English who a few years before had followed George Keith in his separation from the Foxian Quakers. Within two years the ordinary congregation of Christ Church numbered over five hundred.¹⁰

As his fame spread, many "of the better condition," who came in from the country, became better acquainted with the doctrine and ritual of the Church and sowed far and wide a longing for ministrations of the British Mother Church. Among the first to be stirred were the Welsh of the "Tract," and of the North Wales or Gwynedd settlement. At the latter place, in contrast to the usual situation, a majority of the early Welsh were Churchmen. They met in the house of Robert Evans, whose brother Cadwalader conducted services as a lay-reader. In the meantime another Episcopalian group was gathering west of the Schuylkill. Up to 1700 all the people of Merion apparently were Quakers, and this condition persisted for two or three generations, as the original settlers were able to hold their large grants intact. In Radnor, and partly also in Haverford, the lots were smaller and attracted many of the poorer non-Quaker Welsh, including many Episcopalians. These two groups were the earliest Welsh Churchmen outside of Philadelphia to desire regular organization. They were the sources of several other

⁹Fisher, pp. 202-03. Bean, p. 139. Browning, p. 308.

¹⁰Humphreys, David, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, pp. 146-147. Browning, pp. 322-324. Perry, William Stevens, *Historical Collections Relating to the Amer. Col. Ch.*, Vol. IV, Maryland, pp. 53-54.

Welsh Episcopalian communities. Radnor, however, was the first organized parish with a resident missionary and a church.¹¹

As early as 1700 Radnor became a mission under the care of Evan Evans, and services were held at the house of William Davis. In September, 1707, Evans informed the S. P. G. that he had conducted services "in the Welsh language at Radnor once a fortnight for four years past." The church register began on June 8, 1706, with the baptism of Elizabeth, the child of Morgan and Elizabeth Hughes. It is supposed that in 1707-1709 the congregation consisted of about fifty families, and that they had a log church. When Evans could not come, they had Welsh preaching by John Clubb, a schoolmaster in Christ Church Parish, Philadelphia, who later became their first regular minister. Such was the origin of the first Episcopal church west of the Schuylkill River. Closely associated with it was the congregation in North Wales or Gwynedd, which also received visits from Evans. From this large region, which he generally called "Montgomery," grew two other early Welsh churches: Oxford, north of Philadelphia, and Perkiomen to the northwest. For many years the histories of St. David's in Radnor, Trinity Church at Oxford and St. James' at Perkiomen were closely related. Let us trace the course of Radnor Parish, first in association with the others, and then as a separate cure becoming the mother of other churches.¹²

III.

After Philadelphia, Radnor and "Montgomery" received most of Evans' attention. The people were so stirred by his preaching that about a hundred Episcopalians in Radnor, Haverford and Merion requested the Bishop of London to send a permanent pastor, who could speak both Welsh and English—a *sober* man who would appeal to the Quakers. They spoke of the large number of Welsh in those towns and nearby places, who had been brought up in the Church, but had fallen away to Quaker meetings rather than live without religion, and were ready to return to the fold. The same zeal animated the people at Oxford, where the congregation consisted chiefly of the young. They built a neat and convenient little church and subscribed £20 a year for the minister's salary. As at Radnor, this resulted from occasional visits and preaching by Evans and other clergymen.¹³

In response to this plea the S. P. G. established the first regular Welsh mission, consisting of Oxford and Radnor, about twenty miles

¹¹Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-149. Browning, pp. 322-324, 584-585.

¹²Browning, pp. 322-324, 584-585. Humphreys, pp. 148, 149. Perry, William Stevens, editor, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 33.

¹³Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35. Humphreys, pp. 149, 155-159.

apart. The minister appointed to this enormous cure was the Reverend John Clubb, who already was well known. He arrived in 1714 and was received with great kindness, especially by the people at Radnor, who thanked the Society warmly and renewed their promise to give him their best assistance. As an evidence of zeal and good faith, they commenced the little stone church still standing among the graves of the ancient Welsh. The cornerstone was laid with ceremony on May 9, 1715. Owing to the smallness and poverty of the congregation, the church was many years in reaching completion. There was no floor until 1765, the vestry house was erected in 1767, the gallery in 1772. During the Revolutionary War it sheltered American soldiers, while services were suspended. Today it appears about as it did then: a small, simple chapel of rough hewn stone, with an outside staircase to the gallery which is said to be unique in this country. The Oxford church already had been built, and was dedicated in 1711 in the presence of several clergymen, including the Swedish pastors on the Delaware.¹⁴

Mr. Clubb deserves more than a passing mention. He is described as "very earnest in all Parts of his Ministerial office, and very successful in his Labours, and happy in engaging the Love and Esteem of all his People." Like many another missionary, he was worn down by fatigue, and from the extremities of weather he contracted repeated illnesses and died in 1715. The people sincerely missed him and the Wardens expressed their grief in a letter to the Society.¹⁵

Left without a ministry, the churches begged for another missionary. The Society, whose treasury was not exactly bursting, suggested that *they* might provide for a resident minister. They replied that they were new settlers in the wilderness, had not even paid for their homes and probably would not get out of debt for years. Taking pity on them and having faith in their "good Disposition," the Society sent the Reverend Mr. Wayman as missionary to Oxford and Radnor. The Society was not disappointed, for Oxford purchased a house, an orchard and sixty-three acres for the minister, and Radnor pledged £40 proclamation money a year to support a pastor to preach in Welsh. Wayman proved worthy of their confidence, being a diligent missionary. He began week-day trips to distant Welsh settlements which later became flourishing missions. He often visited remote Conestoga, about forty miles west of Radnor, and referred to the growing congregation at Whitemarsh, about ten miles from Oxford, who had already built a good

¹⁴Humphreys, pp. 155-159. S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings, 1714*, p. 28. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-73, 74-76, 77-78. Browning, pp. 584-585. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, 1903. Fisher, George Harrison, *Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia*, p. 285.

¹⁵Humphreys, pp. 155-159. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

stone church and wanted a minister. Church members continually increased and in one year he baptized over seventy children.¹⁶

The persistent Welsh character of Radnor Parish appeared in 1723, when Wayman recommended a mature minister with a good knowledge of Welsh, to reside there and visit from house to house as the best way of bringing people to church. He stated that many inclined to the Church could not be won by mere itinerant preaching. The Pennsylvania clergy specially mentioned Radnor's need and in 1725 Wayman again pressed for a resident missionary to converse with the people "in their own British Dialect," as many were strangers to English. In 1728 he reported about sixty families in Radnor, scattered and rather poor and without a parochial school. An interesting sidelight on the parish's condition flashes from a letter of 1730 by a Welshman, Rowland Jones, who wanted a position as schoolmaster. He said Radnor was thinly peopled, with very few Churchmen, being far exceeded in that respect by East Town and Newton. Many Welsh families had come in, especially in the last two or three years, but were mostly very poor.¹⁷

After Wayman's removal poor Radnor had such hard times that in 1731 Commissary Archibald Cummings wrote that the parish urgently needed a Welsh missionary. In 1732 the people of St. David's were *impatiently* expecting him. The long sought pastor, Griffith Hughes, was very kindly received, especially by the Welsh. Following a suggestion by his predecessor, he visited the parishioners in their homes to secure them from corrupt teachings. Since Oxford had been detached from Radnor, he had charge of "Perquihoma" (Perkiomen), and attended both places every week, preaching and catechizing every Sunday. He continued services in growing Welsh settlements beyond the hills and so helped to lay the foundation of new churches. He complained bitterly that religion was seriously hindered by lack of Welsh books, for which the faithful "daily" importuned him. His greatest sorrow was that he was the only priest officiating in Welsh and could not minister to "many thousands" of Welsh in the province.¹⁸

His successor was a good and faithful servant of Holy Church, the Reverend William Currie, who was pastor of Radnor and nearby places during the rest of the provincial period. He was a strictly orthodox Anglican, breasting the wild current of extreme Calvinist preaching inspired by Whitefield and Gilbert Tennant. He was appointed missionary to Radnor and Perkiomen at £60 a year—and he earned it. One

¹⁶S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1720, pp. 49-50; 1722, pp. 43-44. *Humphreys*, pp. 155-159.

¹⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 131-133, 144-145, 162-165, 168-171.

¹⁸S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1730, p. 89; 1734, pp. 53-54; 1735, p. 47. *Perry, op. cit.*, pp. 177, 180-181, 188-189, 191-192. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXIV, 1900. Owen, Benjamin F., *Letters of the Rev. Griffith Hughes, of St. David's Church, Radnor, Penna., 1733-1736*, pp. 139, 141-146, 148.

of his first cares was to mend the ravages of whirlwind exhorters in the "Great Awakening," using a box of books sent by the Society in 1741. He soon rejoiced that all "who had left the Church to follow the new Preachers" had returned, and that the number of communicants at Radnor was the same as before and had increased at Perkiomen.¹⁹

Aside from the regular cures, he fostered a promising offshoot of the old stock, in "Great Valley," over the hills west of Radnor. In 1745 the Society gladly announced the opening of a new church called "Saint Peter's in the Valley," where Currie officiated monthly to a large and regular congregation. This parish included the charming region about Valley Creek, in Truduffrin, and was peopled largely by the Welsh. Currie's report of March, 1752, shows the increasing numbers and prosperity of his churches, which continued two years later, in spite of his bad health. Under his care St. David's and St. Peter's were fairly prosperous until the Revolutionary agitations nearly blasted Anglicanism in the country districts. In 1759 he wrote that the people of St. Peter's had recently "put the last hand" to a large gallery, to accommodate the crowds at his preaching. St. David's was being repaired through a gift of £50 from "a religious young Man" who had died a while ago.²⁰

As the finger of old age touched him, in 1760 he complained of ill health and hinted that he would like to retire on a pension or to a less burdensome mission. Although he had served more than twenty-three years, his support was poor and he had not even a regular dwelling, his sole dependence being upon the Society. His congregations were large, especially at Radnor and in the Valley, but he thought they were "very careless and lukewarm." Shortly afterward a convention of Pennsylvania clergy praised him to the Society as "much esteemed" in his mission and performing his duty as far as health permitted. In 1763 he was more cheerful, noting that the congregations were growing daily. His report of 1764 illuminates the religious condition of Radnor and shows the relative strength of the Church. The township had two thousand people, including four hundred professed Churchmen and fifteen hundred and fifty Dissenters. In 1775 he was still ministering to a somewhat declining parish. Two years later his report was one of only three from Pennsylvania, as the Revolution was breaking communications with the Motherland. Grown feeble in the service of his Master, he soon passed away, and the trumpets must have sounded for him

In that whiter island, where
Things are evermore sincere.²¹

¹⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1736, p. 51; 1741/2, pp. 51-52.

²⁰S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1745, p. 50; 1753, p. 50; 1755, p. 53; 1760, p. 54.

²¹S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1761, pp. 54-55; 1765, p. 81; 1774, p. 39; 1775, p. 42; 1776, pp. 29-30; 1777, p. 74. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282, 315, 352. The quotation is from *Devotional Poets of The XVII Century*, "The White Island," by Robert Herrick.

IV.

His long and devoted ministry promoted the security not only of St. David's and St. Peter's, but also of St. James' Church at Perkiomen, anciently called "Perquihoma." This parish, long associated with Radnor, has a peculiar history. The Welsh were a large if not predominant element there in the early eighteenth century, but by 1738 apparently were being absorbed by English culture. The parish originated in a settlement established by Edward Lane, who in 1698 bought twenty-five hundred acres. He was a Quaker, but with many others turned to the Church of England when George Keith split the meetings. Perkiomen soon became a rather numerous Welsh community, and Welsh names abound in lists of early parishioners. Lane patented his tract in 1701 and probably was influential in starting Anglican services.²²

The first to preach at Perkiomen in Welsh was Evan Evans, who used to call the place "Montgomery," a name loosely given to the whole Welsh settlement east of the Schuylkill and north of Philadelphia. A crude old map of the northern colonies in Humphreys' "Historical Account" of the S. P. G. shows a "Montgomery" probably intended to represent modern Perkiomen, although wrongly placed west instead of east from the Schuylkill. In 1709 Evans wrote that he would soon preach at "Perguoman," which he called a new settlement, and would baptize a family of sixteen Quakers. There might have been a primitive church organization there at the time.²³

Parish life did not flourish until about 1720, when the Wardens and Vestry of Radnor asked the Bishop of London to settle a Welsh minister for them and Perkiomen, where a church was being erected. This was the first really permanent edifice, probably succeeding a log church. The old stone church, completed in 1721, stood in a cemetery opposite the present one, which was erected in 1843, partly from the old stone. The will of William Lane, January 8, 1732-3, gave forty-two acres to support St. James' Church. This tract became commonly known as the "Glebe." The formal parish records in the Vestry book begin with a meeting on October 2, 1737.²⁴

Throughout the colonial age St. James' generally was associated with St. David's in the mission of "Radnor and Perquihoma." Evans

²²Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, 1925. Scofield, Rev. Charles F., *Supplementary History of St. James' Church, Perkiomen*, p. 366. Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XIX, 1895. Barrow, Rev. A. J., "St. James's, Perkiomen," pp. 87-89. Mont. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, 1925. Williams, I. C., *St. James Church, Perkiomen, Evansburg*, pp. 354, 355.

²³Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Scofield, *op. cit.*, p. 367. Humphreys, *Historical Account*, map. *opp.*, p. 144.

²⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-356, 363. Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Scofield, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

and Wayman were followed by Griffith Hughes, from 1733 to 1736. Although Welsh culture was still prominent in 1726, the last reference to Welsh services occurred during his time. In the next forty years St. James' was served by the faithful William Currie, who became lay-reader at Radnor and Perkiomen in 1736 and resigned in 1776 rather than omit prayers for the king. In 1765 he moved to Perkiomen because the congregation was larger than at Radnor. The parish apparently increased and flourished until the Revolution, when it suffered from the usual interruption of services. After 1780 it was revived by the ministries of John Wade and Slaton Clay. In 1788 it was incorporated as "The Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of the Episcopal Congregation of St. James's Church, Perkiomen, in the Township of New Providence and County of Montgomery."²⁵

V.

Oxford soon became an independent mission generally linked with Whitemarsh. This split was caused partly by the distance from Radnor, partly by the fact that Oxford was less Welsh than Radnor and Perkiomen, which had a natural relation. George Keith stated that there was no settled congregation at Oxford until after his return in 1702, but there can be little doubt that services began previously. In fact 1700 probably should be the latest date for the establishment of Trinity Church. A deed of December 30, 1700, from Thomas Graves, gave three acres for the "Use and service of those of the Communion of our Holy Mother, the Church of England." Evan Evans and his assistant, Mr. Thomas, officiated at Oxford, and at other times there were services by Mr. Clubb, the schoolmaster of Christ Church, Philadelphia. About 1704 the Society began to consider a regular minister for Oxford or "Frankfort," and in 1707 Evans reported that for the first four years after his arrival (1700) he frequently preached there and administered baptism and Holy Communion. The congregation numbered one hundred and forty, mostly converts from Quakerism, the Baptists and other denominations.²⁶

The first regular minister was the Reverend Andrew Rudman, pastor of Gloria Dei Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, to whom the Episcopal Church owed much of its early growth in Pennsylvania. When the church was formally opened in 1713, the Swedish missionaries Björk and Sandel assisted with several Episcopal clergymen. After

²⁵*Scofield, op. cit.*, pp. 367, 368. *Barrow*, pp. 88, 93, 94. *Williams, op. cit.*, pp. 358, 359, 360, 361-362, 364.

²⁶*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, 1903, *Fisher, George Harrison, Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia*, pp. 280-281, 285. *S. P. G., Abs. of Proc.*, 1704/5.

brief ministrations by Mr. Humphreys, missionary at Chester, Mr. Clubb was appointed pastor of Oxford and Radnor and served until his death in 1715. Evans and Humphreys then resumed charge, the latter without compensation. In 1716 the Wardens and Vestry begged for another missionary, hoping to raise £20 a year and to provide a house and farm. Two years later they warned that the people were beginning to slip away from lack of pastoral care, as there was only a school-master acting as lay-reader.²⁷

With the appointment of Robert Wayman in 1719, affairs began to look up, and in 1724 the parish bought him a house, an orchard and a glebe, between Holmesburg and Frankford. The tie with Radnor was severed, as he wanted to serve Whitemarsh, which was much nearer. In 1731 he became Rector of Saint Mary's in Burlington, New Jersey, and in 1733 was succeeded by Mr. Howie. Within a year the congregation outgrew the church and converts were won, but in 1739 and 1741 he lamented damage by the preaching of Whitefield. Upon his going to the West Indies the parish fell to Aeneas Ross, son of George Ross, the veteran missionary at Newcastle, Delaware. In 1744 and 1745 both churches were flourishing, generally crowded on Sunday. In the pastorate of Hugh Neill Oxford church was improved in 1759, and in 1760 both buildings were as packed as ever. In 1766 Neill took a Maryland parish and was succeeded by the distinguished Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, who remained until 1777. In his time Oxford church was re-roofed, and in 1772 a new church sprang up in the parish, called All Saints, Lower Dublin. In 1787 the long and intimate association of the three congregations was cemented by a charter granted to the "United Episcopal Churches of Trinity Church in Oxford Township, All Saints Church in Lower Dublin Township, Philadelphia County, and St. Thomas's Church in White Marsh Township, Montgomery County." The parishes finally were made separate corporations in 1835.²⁸

VI.

By far the most interesting Welsh mission in Pennsylvania included the great settlement in Lancaster and Berks Counties, far away beyond the "Welsh Mountains." The westward movement has been described as "a second effort of the Welsh to be alone." The first settlers were largely children of the first comers, and in 1718 and 1719 entered what was then Conestoga Township in Chester County, in the valley of Conestoga Creek. The first settlement dated from November

²⁷*Fisher, op. cit. ante*, pp. 285-286, 288, 289. See also references for Radnor.

²⁸*Fisher, op. cit.*, pp. 281, 289-294. *S. P. G., Abs. of Proc.*, 1730/31, p. 89; 1734/5, pp. 54-55; 1744/5, p. 50; 1760, pp. 54-55; 1767, p. 57; 1769, p. 28; 1771, p. 28.

5, 1718, when Cadwallader Ellis had surveyed five hundred acres east of the later village of Morgantown. By 1720 several thousand acres in that region had been allotted to Welshmen, and by 1735 the valley had been surveyed, occupied and largely patented. Chiefly because of these settlers, Lancaster County was established in 1729.²⁹

During the same period Welsh were pressing northwestward into the southern portion of the present Berks County, and before 1740 several hundred had located beyond "South Mountain." By 1752 their lands included twenty thousand acres, mostly along and near Wyomissing and Cacoosing Creeks. The extent of their settlement appears in the Welsh names of townships along the present southern line of Berks County: Caernarvon, settled in 1700, erected in 1729; Brecknock, settled in 1729, created in 1741; and Cumru, settled in 1732, made a township in 1737. They were named for districts in Wales. The Welsh soon displayed their powerful influence by helping the numerous Germans to obtain the new County of Berks, carved from the upper portions of Lancaster and Philadelphia Counties. This settlement became one of the most interesting colonial missions of the Anglican Church. It was one of several instances which disprove the prevalent idea that the Episcopal Church did not appeal to the frontier.³⁰

Although many of the Welsh were Quakers and Baptists, a respectable portion were Episcopalians who soon began to demand missionaries. Their first pastor probably was Robert Wayman of Radnor and Perkiomen, who visited as often as he could. After he left Pennsylvania in 1731, the people were left pastorless. In 1734 they asked the Society for Welsh books and rejoiced in their new minister, "our dear countryman, Mr. Hughes." Under his ministry the western Welsh mission assumed a more permanent form.³¹

Griffith Hughes started his mission in 1732 at Radnor and Perkiomen, but soon began monthly visits to Pequea, Caernarvon and Tulpehocken. For a long time he had no other temple than the shade of a large tree, as houses were too small to hold the crowds. He officiated monthly at Bangor in Caernarvon, in Welsh and English. The hardships of long journeys broke down his health, for sometimes he suffered from lack of common necessities and slept under a tree. Eventually he had to bow to the will of his physician and secure a parish in the milder climate of Barbadoes. He had to abandon his fine farm on Cacoosing Creek in Berks County, near the village of Sinking Springs.³²

²⁹*Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. VII, No. 4, Owen, B. F., Tradition vs. Fact—Bangor Church, pp. 50 et seq.*

³⁰*Montgomery, Morton L., Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Vol. I, pp. 19, 308-309.*

³¹*Perry, op. cit., ante, pp. 188-189, 191-192. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., p. 89.*

³²*Owen, op. cit., pp. 52, 53. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1734, pp. 53-54; 1735, p. 47; 1736, p. 51. Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XXIV, 1900, Letters of Rev. Griffith Hughes, pp. 141-148.*

For some years the only regular church for the western Welsh was St. John's at Pequea, a little east of the Lancaster-Chester line in West Caln Township. The congregation lived in the townships of "Pequay" (Pequea), Lancaster County, and Salisbury, Chester County. A log church erected in 1729 was replaced in 1753 by a stone one more than twice as large. It was served by several missionaries, including Richard Backhouse of Chester and John Blackhall before 1750; George Craig, 1751-1769; and the tireless Thomas Barton, who ministered to several congregations. Some Welsh people came to St. John's before the formal organization of their own church in Caernarvon about 1744-48.³³

In the meantime Welsh occupation on the borders of Lancaster and Berks had been steadily growing and demanding more attention from the missionaries. In 1733 came the usual frontier log church and five years later ten acres were given for another. This church was called "Bangor" for a diocese in Wales and stood in the village later known as Churchtown, a few miles south of the Berks County line, in Caernarvon Township, Lancaster County. In 1754 and 1755 the neighboring Welsh subscribed generously for a new church of stone, located about a hundred feet east of the present one. In 1759 Nathan Evans and his wife conveyed the glebe and church to the Wardens for the benefit of the minister and congregation.³⁴

This parish soon began to establish the usual offshoots. One of the members, Thomas Morgan, who lived in Caernarvon Township, Berks County, gave an acre and ordered his executors to build a church there, also ninety-three acres to help pay for the building and support the minister. The new church, a small stone chapel, was dedicated to St. Thomas by the missionary to Bangor, Thomas Barton, on August 4, 1765. He hoped it would attract many nearby Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, who had no stated places of worship or settled preachers. He planned to serve on week-days, as the churches at Lancaster, Caernarvon and Pequea would not miss him on Sundays. He also preached at St. Thomas' on Sunday evenings when visiting Bangor church. Later a school was established in the chapel and continued until after the Revolution.³⁵

The chapel finally became too small for the congregation, and inaccessible in winter or when the Conestoga Creek was in flood. In 1786 they secured an act allowing them to sell the lot and the glebe, to invest the proceeds for the benefit of the chapel ministry, and to move the church building and the schoolhouse to "Morgan's Town" in Caer-

³³Ellis, Franklin, and Evans, Samuel, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 1048-1049.

³⁴Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

narvon Township, Berks County. The removal occurred in 1792, the chapel being set up on a lot given by Jacob Morgan. A new edifice was erected in 1824.³⁶

The western Welsh mission became one of the most prosperous ever established in Pennsylvania. Through the reports of successive missionaries we can trace its steady growth to a height of activity just before the Revolution. As early in 1746 Richard Locke, itinerant missionary on the frontier, noted the very regular Bangor congregation as mostly Welsh, about a hundred souls with generally twenty communicants. They had a rude church "of square Logs," fifty acres purchased for repairing it, and a hundred more to maintain a clergyman, with subscriptions of from £15 to £20 annually. In 1747 he was visiting there generally once in two weeks.³⁷

His successor, George Craig, literally wore himself out in caring for the frontier churches, particularly the remote Welsh congregations. In 1752 he reported twenty-seven communicants at Bangor church, wrote the Society for church Bibles and Prayer Books, and was busy catechizing the children—who not for the first or last time really knew more than was expected! Caernarvon Parish had grown to two hundred and forty souls. Three years later he rejoiced that the people were rebuilding their church of stone. The burdens of this mission finally overwhelmed him, and in 1758 the Society announced his appointment to the easier cure of St. Paul's Church at Chester.³⁸

The load fell upon the strong back of Thomas Barton, one of the most remarkable missionaries of the S. P. G. in America. For twenty years he fostered the widely scattered churches at Lancaster, Pequea, Caernarvon and Morgantown, travelling thousands of miles in hilly country and in all kinds of weather. He frequently mentioned his ministry to the Welsh, for whom he apparently had a strong affection. They responded nobly and by the close of 1759 Caernarvon Parish was finishing the new stone church "in an handsome Manner." In 1761 he as handsomely praised the poor people who had done this "without the least Assistance from the Publick . . . many Persons, who were contented to dwell in the meanest Huts" having contributed their mites. In June, 1762, Bangor Church was completed: a monument to Welsh faith, patience and generosity. Especially notable was the devotion of Nathan Evans, an old gentleman who from an estate acquired by hard labor, gave £100 for completing the building, a valuable glebe of forty acres to support the minister, and further endowments to guarantee the

³⁶Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

³⁷Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XXIV, 1900, Letters of Rev. Richard Locke and Rev. George Craig, pp. 468-471, 472-475.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 476-478. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1753, p. 51; 1755, p. 53; 1758, p. 46.

support of Mr. Barton and his successor in the ministry of Bangor Church.³⁹

The parish steadily increased in numbers as well as in material wealth. In November, 1764, it comprised between fifty and sixty families "all of Welsh Extraction," and about forty communicants. People of different denominations frequently swelled the congregation to five hundred. In 1766 he was building up his parishes on a solid foundation, by visiting the families and by lecturing and catechizing the children. This close personal bond between him and the people later helped him to weather the storm of civil conflict. In 1770 Caernarvon Parish was flourishing and four years later all his churches generally were full. The endless demands of that mission were beginning to take their usual toll of health, and the work was increasing beyond his strength.⁴⁰

In 1776 the Society issued the disquieting report that his churches were in "as good a condition as the distracted state of affairs will allow." Soon the full tempest of revolution swept upon the western mission, confining him to his house for two years and finally compelling him to flee, leaving his eight children and his beloved flock, for he would not acknowledge laws requiring him to flout allegiance to the king. The congregations at Pequea and Caernarvon showed their loyalty by paying his back salary; by giving him a present of £50, and by providing a home for his children. He returned this devotion by holding secret meetings of women and children on the county line, when not allowed to leave Lancaster County or to meet with the men.⁴¹

VII.

The "Welsh Tracts" in Pennsylvania were not the only ones to affect the growth of the Church. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Penn granted a tract of thirty thousand acres in the southern part of his territory. About three quarters of it lay in Pencader Hundred of Newcastle County, Delaware, the remainder in the present Cecil County, Maryland. The circumstance was due to a lengthy dispute over the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, between Penn and the proprietors of Maryland. It was intended to divide the land among settlers from South Wales, who came over in 1701 and occupied the tract in 1703.⁴²

These people were Baptists, who established their church before leaving Milford Haven in South Wales. At first they lived around Penne-

³⁹*S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1760, p. 57; 1762, p. 59; 1763, p. 72; 1764, p. 91.*

⁴⁰*Ibid., 1766, p. 33; 1768, p. 60. Perry, op. cit., pp. 449, 467.*

⁴¹*S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1776, p. 47; 1779, pp. 58-59.*

⁴²*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, XLII, Records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting, &c., pp. 3-5, 8, in Part I.*

pack in Pennsylvania and became members of the Baptist church of Pennepack and Philadelphia. After moving to their lands in the Newcastle County tract, they built a meeting house in 1706 and in 1710 formally adopted their solemn church covenant. Like their countrymen in Pennsylvania, they long cherished their language and customs. The Baptist meeting kept its records in Welsh for some time and had Welsh preaching until about 1800.⁴³

Although Baptists predominated, there was a strong Episcopalian minority among the Delaware Welsh, particularly in Apoquinimink in the southern part of Newcastle County. They were visited at first by their restless countryman, Evan Evans, although they lived about sixty-five miles from his home. About 1704 the Society considered the need of a resident minister, and in 1707 Evans recommended a Welsh missionary for the whole region between Apoquinimink and Newcastle. George Ross, the pastor at Newcastle, had been serving there, but was unsatisfactory because of his ignorance of Welsh. Upon Evans' recommendation, Apoquinimink was made a Welsh mission under the care of Mr. Jenkins, who could speak the "British" tongue fluently. It was hoped that this would keep the faithful in communion with the Church and win back others who had been "seduced."⁴⁴

This mission lived up to expectations by creating a permanent group of loyal Welsh Churchmen in northern Delaware. During his brief ministry Jenkins inspired enough zeal to maintain the Church through early trials and later vacancies in the mission. His appointment evidently was none too soon, for in 1708 he wrote that with a delay of six months, "without a special providence and preventing Grace of God, it would not have been above three that would sincerely be of her Communion, whereas we have now some hundreds in the Town (i. e., Newcastle) and Country, that are of the Church of England. . . ." Their great distance from Newcastle prevented their coming to church every Sunday, so he met them every two weeks about twelve miles from town. On the second occasion there were about eighty, including many Welsh, whom he agreed to visit every three weeks in the "Welsh Tract." In and around Newcastle County he found about forty Welsh families, who had been divided among Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists, for want of an Episcopal minister to preach in Welsh, the only language most of them understood. His efforts to win them were so successful that the Baptist preacher promised to give up the meeting-house and be one of his congregation. Jenkins was cut off in the midst

⁴³*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, XLII, Records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting, &c., Vol. II, Part II, p. 3.*

⁴⁴*Humphreys, op. cit., p. 150. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1704/5, under general recommendations of missionaries. Perry, Pap. rel. to Hist. of Ch. in Penna., pp. 35-36.*

of his hopes, dying in the following year, generally lamented by the people.⁴⁵

His parishioners won the Society's respect by their sincere loyalty to the Church through many discouragements. They erected a church about 1705, long before they had a settled pastor, and had occasional services by Mr. Sewall from Maryland and Mr. Crawford, the missionary in Dover Hundred, Kent County. Jenkins' ministry gathered a congregation of about two hundred "very constant Hearers," including some earnest communicants and a great many adults who desired baptism. The Vestry, while mourning his death, commented on the "flourishing Condition" of the parish at his death.⁴⁶

As other places were clamoring for attention, there was a long vacancy, with monthly visits by Erick Björk, pastor of Holy Trinity Swedish Lutheran Church at Christina (Wilmington). There were also occasional ministrations by Mr. Clubb, schoolmaster in Philadelphia; George Ross of Emanuel Church in Newcastle; and other S. P. G. missionaries. So matters continued until 1715, when the clergy deplored the vacancy. The Society then appointed Mr. Merry and Mr. Campbell, who served for short periods. The mission revived under their most welcome successor, Mr. Hacket, who in 1731 wrote that the church was flourishing, the people very orderly and devout. The building was in perfect repair and the Vestry seemed ready to purchase a glebe and build a parsonage. His successor, Mr. Pugh, was encouraged by the parish's condition in 1736-7, as the congregation was large and seemed likely to increase. The "Awakening" naturally caused many defections, but by 1741-2 some of them were returning, and a few years later great numbers of Dissenters were thronging the church.⁴⁷

When Mr. Pugh died, "worn out with his pious Labours," the Society appointed as his successor Mr. Philip Reading, son of a distinguished Librarian of Sion College. He served this mission during the rest of the colonial period. During the first year he reported large congregations, "very steady in their Attendance on the sacred Ordinances," and converts from other denominations. His report in 1750 was equally encouraging, and fourteen years later he noted the very hopeful appearance of religion and an increasing attachment to the Church. The old church became much too small, and when the subscription for a new one was started, more than £500 was raised in a few days and a prominent family gave a lot for the building and a cemetery. By 1773 the church was finished and crowded. Six years later

⁴⁵Perry, William Stevens, editor, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. V, Delaware, p. 11. *Pap. rel. to Hist. of Ch. in Penna.*, p. 49.

⁴⁶Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 161-162. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1730/31, p. 89; 1731/2, p. 50; 1741/2, pp. 50-51; 1737/8, pp. 41-42; 1744/5, p. 51.

the Society announced Reading's death after a service of thirty-four years "with great credit to himself, and utility to his people."⁴⁸

Another strongly Welsh parish was Emanuel Church, Newcastle, which originated about 1689 and twenty years later dedicated a church. In 1705 the Society noted the need of a missionary there and described the congregation as "mostly" Welsh, probably including the country members. The first missionary, appointed in 1705, was George Ross, who became one of the Society's oldest veterans. He ministered to many country people, including some Welsh, who used to come as far as twelve miles. He preached monthly at Apoquinimink when the mission was vacant, and took care of St. James' Chapel at Whiteclay Creek, about ten or eleven miles west of Newcastle. St. James' was built in 1716, "as fair an Oratory as any not built of Brick, in that Government," and was endowed with a glebe of ten acres, by a wealthy parishioner.⁴⁹

Emanuel Church flourished, as the congregation evidently was unusually generous. They subscribed about £48 annually, in addition to the Society's salary, and several contributed toward an endowment. In 1730 the parish never had been more vigorous in a spiritual sense, having a considerable number of regular and devout communicants, and careful instruction for many children. Three years later Ross commented that Episcopalians were increasing about Newcastle, and that he had recently formed a congregation of new settlers about twenty miles away, promising to visit them once a month. He was succeeded by his son Aeneas, his former assistant, who served as Rector of Emanuel Church until the Revolution. At one time he also ministered by request at St. James' in Whiteclay Creek. In 1764 he made a report which shows a surprising strength of the Welsh and other Episcopalians in that region. Newcastle had over six hundred inhabitants, including one hundred and twenty professed members of the Church of England, sixteen Roman Catholics and five hundred Protestant Dissenters. The Church therefore comprised about twenty per cent of the people, a far higher proportion than it has in the same region today.⁵⁰

VIII.

An inclination to consider the Episcopal Church in colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware as "English" is soon corrected by the documents, which reveal the startling fact that to a large extent it was Welsh.

⁴⁸*S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1745/6, p. 49; 1747/8, p. 61; 1750/51, p. 52; 1765, p. 79; 1766, p. 31; 1773, p. 31; 1779, p. 5.*

⁴⁹*Humphreys, op. cit., pp. 163-165. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1704/5, general recommendations of missionaries.*

⁵⁰*Humphreys, pp. 164-165. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1730, p. 41; 1733, p. 45; 1761, pp. 33-34; 1765, pp. 78-79.*

At least five congregations—Radnor, Perkiomen, Truduffrin, Caernarvon (Bangor) and Morgantown—were practically all Welsh. There was a strong Welsh element in several others, including Philadelphia, Oxford, Pequea, Newcastle, Whiteclay Creek and Apoquinimink. This is matter of reflection for any who still persist in thinking of the colonial Episcopalians as an exclusive and insular “English” sect rather than a part of the Holy Catholic Church of all nations. The Church which extended the hand of fellowship to the Swedes, also welcomed the Welsh, one of the world’s oldest Christian nations.

The Welsh Churchmen made several interesting and valuable contributions to the colonial Church. Foremost was their loyalty, shown when many returned after lapsing, and by the later return of a large number who had been misled through misguided “enthusiasm.” They often displayed a marked devotion to primitive customs, such as house visiting by the pastor and catechizing the young in essential doctrines. Many practiced a vital and personal piety, for some of the missionaries’ reports reveal an astonishing number of regular communicants in regions generally noted for indifference to outward sacraments because of Quaker influence. They were an industrious folk, but mindful that their gold and silver were the Lord’s. The wealthy, and even some of the poor, were generous in providing for the erection and endowment of churches.

The Welsh frequently showed a marked tendency to intellectual seriousness, desiring books and earnestly imploring the Society to furnish them. No doubt this was owing partly to their love of the ancient British tongue. There must have been also that longing to establish reasons for faith, without which the Church could not have survived the ages and can have no worthy future.

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A LETTER OF JOHN KEBLE TO AN EARLY AMERICAN MISSIONARY

By Grant Knauff

A LETTER of historic importance and pastoral solicitude written by the Rev. John Keble to the Rev. Benjamin Holmes, founder of St. Mark's Church, West Orange, New Jersey, and of St. Peter's Church, Morristown, is a prized possession of Keble College, Oxford. A photostatic copy of the letter has recently been presented to the present rector of St. Mark's, West Orange, the Rev. Harold G. Willis, Canadian by birth, who since 1925 has ministered with devotion and zeal in the Mother Church of the Oranges.

John Keble was born on the 25th of April 1792. In 1811 he was appointed to an Oriel fellowship. He took holy orders in 1815-16. In 1827 he published *The Christian Year*. In 1831 he was appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford. On Sunday, July 14, 1833 Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostacy*. The occasion of the sermon was the suppression by Earl Gray's reform ministry of ten Irish bishoprics. Against Erastianism Keble had long chafed inwardly, and he now asserted the claim of the Church to a heavenly origin and a divine prerogative. About the same time, and partly stimulated by Keble's sermon, leading spirits in Oxford began a systematic course of action to revive High Church principles and patristic theology. Thus arose the Tractarian Movement, a name it received from the famous Tracts for the Times. If Keble is to be reckoned, as Newman would have it, as the primary author of the Movement, it was from Pusey that it received one of its best known names, and in Newman that it soon found a genuine leader. So the 14th of July 1833 is to be reckoned as the beginning of the Oxford Movement, destined in the providence of God to make the dry bones of the old Church of England to live an exceeding great army, truly a part of Christ's Kingdom on earth.

The real bent and choice of Keble was toward a pastoral cure in a country parish, but he remained at Oxford until 1823. Then he returned to Fairford, to assist his father, the Rev. John Keble, and with another brother he served one or two small and poorly endowed curacies in the neighborhood of Coln.

In 1825 Keble became vicar of Hursley in Hampshire, and married Miss Clarke. He departed this life at Bournemouth the 29th of March 1866, and was buried at Hursley.

The letter was written at Fairford, and is dated the 10th of July 1833, just four days before the sermon was preached at Oxford. We perceive that in Keble's mind it was a time of heart-searching uncertainty for the Church, and of profound and needed impending change. And the genuine pastoral heart of Blessed John Keble is so evident in his solicitude for the village schoolmistress who had come to the United States, and the desire that others coming might receive a warm welcome and devoted care on the part of the good priest, Benjamin Holmes, who was the founder and first rector of St. Mark's Church, the mother Parish of the Oranges:

To

The Revd. Benjamin Holmes
Orange
Essex County
New Jersey
N. America

Fairford, Gloustershire
10 July 1833

Reverend & dear Sir,

Permit me to address you thus familiarly, altho' my ungracious delay in answering your kind letter has almost forfeited, I must own, any right I had to address you at all. But I will assume that "late is better than never", & without any further apology (for indeed, though I have been, for an idle man, very busy, I have not that satisfies my own conscience) I will proceed to thank you most heartily for all your kindness to my old friends the Wests, & particularly for sending me so comfortable an account of them. They are a family in whom I am much interested, & it will be a great satisfaction to me to hear from time to time, that they go on to deserve your good opinion. The mother and eldest daughter, in particular, appeared to me to have a strong sense of duty, & gave me great satisfaction in the care of our village school, such as it is—for at best it is but a rude unformed institution, for the 19th century. Pray do me the favour, if you see them soon, of remembering me to them very kindly, & telling them I trust that they will hear from some of us before long: and that I do not recollect at present any changes in the village in which they wd. be very particularly interested. I must now proceed to the latter part of your letter, which I cannot thank you for enough. Indeed we *do* feel a deep and increasing interest in the progress or prospects of the Apostolical Church in the U. S. & have long done so. But of late our own peculiar circumstances have turned our thoughts that way more intensely

than ever. I say *we* & *our*, because I feel that if I can but express what I mean in this subject, I shall be speaking the thought of a very large body of the Clergy of England: who feeling daily that it becomes more and more questionable in point of duty, & improbable in point of fact, that we should continue in the same relation we are in at present to the government of the country, are naturally looking round on all fragments of the Church Apostolic, for hints and examples to guide their proceedings, during and after so momentous a change. And I really think, that nothing in the world would strengthen our hands much more, than if we could secure the sympathy & approbation of the Bishops and Clergy of the U. S. and revive, in spirit and substance at least, the old custom of Synodical letters from Church to Church. One of the first steps towards this will be to circulate as widely as possible, among the Clergy & thoughtful part of the Laity here, authentic particulars of the Constitution, Canons, history & practices of our brethren among you, in respect of ecclesiastical education as well as of public worship & discipline. About discipline I am especially anxious; for *there* it is, of all points, that the *establishment* encumbers instead of protecting us: & I think it is very generally felt, that we shall have much to answer for, if Providence having separated us from the State, which appears likely, we do not, in so far as in us lies, restore the ancient discipline by censure and excommunication, as well as the ancient government by Synods. *You*, i. e. the Church in the U. S. will have much to tell us as to the practicability and desirableness of such measures, & on a thousand details connected with them: & I shall take it as a very great favour, if you will at your leisure give me a line, informing me where I may look for the best accounts of these matters. Is there any periodical on which one can depend? or any authorised collection of documents? At the same time perhaps you will be able to specify some safe conveyance, of wch I may avail myself to send you 2 or 3 publications connected with this great subject, which I am very desirous of introducing to you in case you should as yet be unacquainted with them: & which, at any rate, you will be able to find a use for, should you happen to possess them before. I observe in conversation, that one of the points on which Clergymen here are most apt to question the arrangement of the American Church, is the admission of laymen to so large a share in the making of ecclesiastical Canons. I do not myself feel the objection, but mine is but an unlearned opinion. I should very much like to know how it is found to work. Of course any opinion you may favour me with on this or any other subject wch every one must feel to be very delicate, would be regarded by me as quite confidential, except I were especially authorized to make use of it. Another point of very great interest, & on which such caution would be peculiarly requisite, wd. be the mode

of conducting elections so popular as I imagine yours are, & as ours would become in the case supposed, to Bishopricks and other ecclesiastical offices. Of course your printed authorities specify all the principal observances: but in elections, more than any thing else, as far as I have been able to see or read every thing is apt to turn upon points not thought of when the rules were established. Should there be anything of that kind in the working of your Church elections, it would be a great & real kindness to point it out; the more so, the less it may have been made matter of observation in print. — I seem to be inflicting a most unmerciful dose upon you. But there is hardly a subject in the world, on wch I feel, just now, so deeply interested— I feel that if by any humble effort of one's own one can contribute in any way to a cordial understanding & expression of sympathy between Churches situated as yours and ours are at present, it might under Providence help effectually to strengthen the hands of the Catholic Apostolical Church, at a moment when the Antichristian powers seem more than usually active, & fancy themselves more than usually triumphant. One of the most remarkable phenomena in history, as it seems to me (but to be sure one's fancy is always apt to exaggerate events very near one) is the union, under which we are suffering & likely to suffer, of fanatical Romanists & Independents on one hand, & open Infidels and Indifferents on the other. There is this good, one would hope, in it all; that it really seems to drive all serious persons, in spite of former prejudices, back again upon the real old Church principles: & I trust, if our unworthiness defeat it not, we may yet live to see such a rally of that long-forsaken cause, as the enemies of it little dream of. At this particular moment, we are come to a particular point in our Church History. The H. of Commons in wch persons of any religion or avowal of none may & do sit, has just passed and sent to the Lords a Bill which among other such delectable provisions abolishes ten Irish Bishopricks, *without any sort of appeal to the Church*. I understand an effort has been made by some real friends of the Church (whether discreet in this instance or no, I am not enough behind the curtain to say) to get the Lords to pass the Bill, inserting in the process an express reference to Convocation. Should that be done, & the Commons reject it (wh I suspect they would) it would make our cause more popular & so far might be a good thing: but should it go on, & Convocation be summoned, it will probably lead to most unpleasant discussions, ending in a separation of all Churchmen, who are not Erastians (I trust a very considerable party) from what they would consider the schismatical body, remaining, at such cost, in union with the state. On the other hand, should the Lords pass the Bill (wch can only be by a violent interference of the King or the Irish—and the latter is not to be dreaded on this occasion, the present Cabinet is so unpopular) I feel that we shall be in the

most perplexing predicament: for our cause is not yet sufficiently understood for a secession to take place, with any great effect, *here*, & in *Ireland* it might probably lead to the total extinction of the present Reformed Church. Perhaps submission, with the present possible protest, would be our best wisdom, *for this time*: & we would make the most of the interval (probably short enough) between this and the next usurpation, to excite people's attention, & propagate right notions. After all, one is almost ashamed of speculating so much on the subject, it being so utterly uncertain what turn things may take—but living in deep retirement as I do, I had nothing but speculations to send: and the interest you so kindly express in our Church has embolden me to pour myself out to you, in this crude and hurried way—it will at any rate give you an idea of the topicks which employ us in England at present, & of the comfort and hope which it gives us to receive such accounts as you favoured me with, of your happier prospects in the same cause.

I promised a neighbouring Clergyman the other day, that when I wrote to you, I wd. take the liberty of enquiring what chance of employment and maintenance a Canon wd. have, who should come to your country as a Schoolmaster, (I mean what is called an *English* Schoolmaster) supposing him pretty well qualified for teaching. The person for whom the enquiry is made, is, I understand, the Son of a Clergyman: farther than that, I know nothing of him. I seem to be making very free: but I must add one request more—that you will permit me, should I know of any really respectable Churchmen going to America, to recommend them into your neighbourhood, & give them one line of introduction to you. It seems to me no longer banishment, since I had your letter: before I never felt easy at peoples' going; imagining they would be as sheep without a shepherd. Farewell, my dear Sir. Forgive the long delay of this epistle, and its unworthiness, now it comes, for all other purposes except assuring you that I am, with much gratitude

Your affectionate friend and fellow servant

J. Keble junr.

THE NOBLE SAVAGE AS SEEN BY THE MISSIONARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN COLONIAL NEW YORK 1702-1750

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THE four bidders for the Indian's loyalty were the British Government, which desired him as a fighter and outpost of Empire; the trader who wanted him as a consumer of alcohol and other goods, and as a supplier of furs and various products; the colonist who craved his lands; and the missionary who wished his conversion to Christianity and who in fact softened the impact of the new order. Without him as a religious and social teacher, "a secularized native", bewildered by commercial and military pressures, would have suffered even more severely from the barbaric effect of a strange civilization upon a native culture.

While it is true that these imperial forces were centered in London, where the great fight against France in the second hundred years war (1689-1815) was being planned and waged, colonials were inevitably active participants, and the European continent contributed its contingents of 3000 Palatinates and many scattered Huguenots to this pioneer and frontier society of mixed nationalities and many religious faiths. The S. P. G.¹ was not only the latest arrival of these four forces, but, as a pioneer Protestant missionary Society, it could not be expected to adapt itself quickly to a large scale program in every part of the British Empire in the western world. Under the circumstances, the effort to Christianize the Iroquois took the form of individual survey, individual contact, and first hand reporting of conditions in the American forest of New York in the early decades of the eighteenth century. These documents are therefore to be regarded as first hand, contemporary contributions to an evaluation of Protestant cultural contacts with natives, which are suggestively illustrative of problems wherever the white man's world meets native cultures whether in the early eighteenth century or in more recent times.

In these early letters, the missionary reporter showed himself as

¹In this monograph, the S. P. G. and The Society are the two abbreviations used for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

an excellent observer and as a competent analyst of problems met in the wilderness for which he had no advance preparation or hand book, and which his superiors in London could perhaps only dimly comprehend. These early annalists are therefore to be read for their contribution to "the cult of the noble savage," and are to be regarded as laboratory or field men, collecting factual data for the testing of theory by actual experiment. Their amazing insight will be referred to from time to time in this study.

The hotly debated question of the superiority or inferiority of the noble savage was one of endless interest to eighteenth century men and not merely to Dean Swift and to Defoe.² Occasionally, as these letters show, the missionary could in his letters vie with the interest aroused by the stories of pirates and explorers. It is only necessary to remember that the first edition of Robinson Crusoe, with its instant success and many imitations, appeared in 1719 for the reader to recapture some of the contemporary impressions of interest in the world wide discovery, imagined or real. Dampier (1652-1715), buccaneer, logwood cutter, privateer, and explorer held the world spell-bound with his publications of entertaining cruises and voyages around the world; and he and Woods Rogers (d. 1732) were at the height of their fame. Such historic rescues as that of Alexander Selkirk vied with the popularity of Gulliver's Travels (1726).

The ideas regarding noble savages brought home by travellers and missionaries were occasionally checked by visits of natives to London such as that of Joseph Brant from the Iroquois, Philip Quaque from Africa, Omai from the South Sea Islands, and many others. These natives, at times presented at court and painted by the noted artists of the day, aroused great curiosity. It was in this eighteenth century atmosphere and mood that these letters from the wilderness were received and read in London.

However, in this paper, it is intended to omit imperial and certain other aspects of Indian affairs in colonial New York in the first half of the century and to concentrate on the daily activity of the S. P. G.

²H. Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage, A Study in Romantic Naturalism*, 1928, *passim*; and Chauncey B. Tinker, *Nature's Simple Plan*, 1922, *passim*. A suggestive bibliography is to be found in R. S. Crane's review of Professor Tinker's book in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, No. 5, pp. 291-297. A helpful account of the origin of the ideas regarding primitive people is given by Miss Lois Whitney, "English Primitive Theories of Epic Origins," in *Modern Philology*, XXI, May, 1924. For a fine analysis of the work of the leading poet of Evangelicalism and humanitarianism, see Lodwick C. Hartley, "William Cowper, Humanitarian", 1938. The notes are a very valuable bibliography. Professor Charles M. Andrews, winner of the Pulitzer Award for 1935, author of "The Colonial Period of American History", 4 vols., called attention to and gave an evaluation of the S. P. G. and allied records for the historian in his "Materials in British Archives for American Colonial History" in *The American Historical Review*, Jan., 1905.

missionaries in Christianization and education, and, as indicated above, to regard them primarily as pioneer observers and reporters to whom the individual Indian was a human being, neither hero nor devil.³ This contemporary zeal of the day appears at the very beginning in the request of the Rev. John Talbot, chaplain on the ship, "Centurion," that he go to Boston with the Rev. George Keith, the first itinerant S. P. G. missionary sent to the New England colonies in 1702. In an early report to a friend in England, Mr. Talbot, who at once started work among the Indians, explained their impressions of a squaw sackem,

I have baptized several persons . . . indeed in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel, even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury the Governor here, has had with them at Albany, 5 of their sachems or kings told him they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's death, they did not admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a squaw sachem viz^t a woman king, but they hoped she would be a good mother, and send them some to teach them religion, and establish traffic amongst them that they might be able to purchase a coat and not go to church in bear skins, so they send our queen a present, 10 beaver skins to make her fine, and one for muff to keep her warm.⁴

Rev. Mr. Talbot continued by commenting that the Papists had been very zealous and diligent in converting these Indians, through the sending of priests and Jesuits. The Jesuits had suffered much for Indian conversion, and should inspire the Church of England to further efforts.

However, a letter sent from Nova Scotia the following year to the Secretary of the Society, John Chamberlayne, suggests the controversy

³No attempt has been made in this study to incorporate the observations of other contemporary or later students of the Indian but rather to make the reports of the S. P. G. Missionary available. For the part played by the Iroquois in the Anglo-French and Anglo-American conflicts, see John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1938, pp. 398-399; and by Robert H. Nichols in *Church History*, December, 1938. For S. P. G. work among the Iroquois from 1749 to 1774, see Frank J. Klingberg, "Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," in *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, March, 1939.

⁴Rev. John Talbot to Mr. Richard Gillingham, New York, Nov. 24, 1702, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 1, No. LVI. For an excellent recent study of John Talbot which includes his biography and his letters, see Edgar Legare Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727*, (Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1938).

among the missionaries of diverse faiths and the strain imposed upon the Red Man by conflicting counsels:

It is the common opinion that the Jesuits debauch the Iroquois (which is the common name of the 5 nations) from their fidelity to the Crown . . . for among the Five Nations there is a great number of French that are incorporated by adoption into their tribes, and as such, they ostentatiously assume . . . Indian names, and the poor silly Indians considering themselves as persons of their own blood, do entirely confide in them and admit them into their councils from whence you may judge what fine work the Jesuits make with their affairs.⁵

To offset the intrigues, as French efforts were regarded, in New York and surrounding territory, the S. P. G. was urged, through a memorial by Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian Affairs, to send Protestant ministers to the Five Nations.⁶ Livingston attended a meeting of the Society and gave an account of the needs of the natives. By October 1703, the members had agreed upon two missionaries, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, and the Rev. Mr. Smith.⁷ The Society wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantation regarding finances as follows:

. . . the said Gentlemen [are allowed] 100£ per annum each, over and above which they will have 20£ a piece to buy them utensils for the little Caban they are supposed to have among the Indians, and 10 or 15£ for books etc. Now, My Lords, I am to tell you that the Society having done so much . . . they would gladly know what assistance they may expect in an affaire, that does at least as much concerne the State as the Church . . .⁸

The Lords of Trade were asked to present the situation to the Queen and to the Government of New York. The Society explained that four additional missionaries were immediately needed in New York, three more for the Five Nations and one for the River Indians.⁹ Moreover, it was imperative that each missionary have a well built home, securely barricaded, for fear of the insults of drunken Indians. Other

⁵Translation accompanying a letter in French from Godfrey Dellius to John Chamberlayne, Halsteren, N. S., May 17, 1703, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) A 1, No. LXXXII.

⁶Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.) I, April 16, 1703; *Ibid.*, September 17, 1703.

⁷Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, October 15, 1703.

⁸John Chamberlayne to Lords of Trade, Westminster, February [1] 1703/4, in E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, 1077. (Documents originally selected by J. R. Brodhead.)

⁹The River Indians, however, Secretary Chamberlayne believed, were no longer formidable, most of them having been killed in former wars.

items of expense would be necessary presents for the Indians and pay for personal servants.¹⁰

In reply to this application, the Secretary to the Lords of Trade wrote,

. . . the Lords Commss^{rs} for Trade and Plantat^{ns} . . . have ordered me to acquaint you that her Majesty does allow £20 a piece to all Ministers going to the Plantations for their passage; that they are of opinion it will be a great encouragement to such Ministers if they can be assured of a Benefice in England after so many years service (as may be thought reasonable) among the Indians . . . their Lord^{ps} will take care to recommend the said Ministers to the Lord Cornbury, Governour of New Yorke.¹¹

Mr. Moore asked for and obtained £40 in addition to the usual £60 for his support.¹² He arrived in Albany in the fall of 1704, and began his preliminary work at once. To win the confidence of the Indians proved difficult, so that by November, 1705, he had not been accepted, in his opinion, because he was an Englishman, to whom the Indians ". . . bear no good will but rather an aversion, having a common saying among them that an Englishman is not good."¹³ He analyzed this Indian hostility as due to,

1. The behavior of the English of New England towards them which has been very unchristian, particularly in taking away their land from them without a purchase.
2. The example of the garrison at Albany (the only English in this province that many Indians ever saw) which may justly have given them a prejudice against us not easily to be removed.
3. The continual misrepresentations of us by the Dutch which are the only inhabitants of that part of the province that borders upon the Indians, and the only persons that trade with them, who as they never had any affection towards us, so they have always shown it to the Indians, though I must say I have . . . received many civilities from some of them particularly Col. Schuyler and Mr. Lydius the Dutch Minister.¹⁴

¹⁰John Chamberlayne, to Lords of Trade, Westminster, February [1] 1703/4, E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, pp. 1077-1078.

¹¹Secretary Popple to John Chamberlayne, Whitehall, February 3, 1703-4, in E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, p. 1078.

¹²*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, Sept. 17, 1703.

¹³Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (*L. C. Trans.*), A 2, No. CXII.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

Anticipating the eventual Americanization of the colonies by means of common language, Mr. Moore and Governor Cornbury quaintly asked the Society to use its interest towards making the Dutch better subjects by prevailing with the Lords of Trade in London that there be no more Dutch schools in New York, and by persuading the Queen that there be no more Dutch ministers sent from Holland. If the Society did not take an interest in these suggestions, fatal consequences would ensue, and the Governor stated that “. . . without a command, if the Queen would only give him leave he would never suffer another Dutch minister to come over.”¹⁵ However, the Society, though remote from the scene, realized that such extreme measures would be detrimental and it encouraged two Dutch ministers, the Rev. Mr. Dellius and the Rev. Mr. Lydius, in their work with the Indians. Mr. Lydius, of Albany, was presented with books worth £10 by the S. P. G. in consideration for his “. . . promoting the Christian Religion among the Indians of the 5 Nations bordering on New York,”¹⁶ and Mr. Dellius translated several prayers into the Mohawk language and transmitted them to the S. P. G.

Rev. Mr. Moore after patient efforts with the Indians at Albany and Schenectady, in November, 1705, decided to leave for the twofold reason that the Indians were difficult to Christianize, and the barbarous white colonials needed missionary care first.¹⁷ He thus reflected the division of opinion regarding the chief aims of the Society in a pioneer world. Should major attention be centered on natives or on the colonists? He was convinced that to begin Christianizing the Indians before the whites was preposterous, “. . . for 'tis from the behavior of the Christians here that they have had and still have their notions of Christianity, which God knows has been and generally is such that I can't but think has made the Indian hate Christianity.”¹⁸ The English, he declared, were a very thriving and growing people, whereas it was the opposite with the Indians.

They waste away and have done ever since our first arrival amongst them (as they themselves say) like snow against the sun, so that very probably forty years hence there will scarce be an Indian seen in our America. God's providence in this matter seems very wonderful and no cause of their decrease visible unless their drinking Rum, with some new dis-

¹⁵*Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXII.*

¹⁶*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, March 17, 1703/4.*

¹⁷*Mr. Robert Livingstone, Secretary of Indian affairs, said there was some mismanagement on Moore's part also, see a letter from Livingstone to John Chamberlayne, January, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXXXVI.*

¹⁸*Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXII.*

tempers we have brought amongst them. Indeed the Christians selling the Indians so much rum as they do is a sufficient bar, if there were no other, against their embracing Christianity.¹⁹

This penetrating observation at this early date of the fate of the Indian north of Mexico stamps Moore as a man of keen prophetic insight, and as a pioneer of the cult of the white man's manifest destiny.

Concurrently with Mr. Moore's selection as a missionary, Mr. Elias Neau was appointed as a catechist for the province of New York with a salary of £50 a year.²⁰ Mr. Neau was as conspicuous for his work in New York as Dr. Le Jau was in South Carolina. French Huguenots, they had gifts for analyzing problems clearly and quickly, and imaginative and practical qualities as well. On July 10, 1703, Mr. Neau accepted the position and wrote the Society " . . . desiring that he may be allowed to teach the Negroes as well as the Indians."²¹ Although Mr. Neau's work with the Negroes was successful,²² he soon perceived the discouraging features of the Indian work. In November, 1705, he wrote the Society that the slaves were more numerous than the Indians, and if he were capable of giving advice to the Society, he would not waver in saying that one could make more proselytes of the Negroes than of the Indians. In striking phrases, he declared:

. . . and since charity well ordered begins at home, I believe God would sooner bless the works of pious persons who employ themselves at this work than to run up in the woods after miserable creatures who breath nothing but blood and slaughter, that are but a few and are moreover prejudiced by covetous persons who traffic with them for their skins and furs. In a word, they are people who have nothing but the figure of men and I am not surprized if the good and pious Mr. Moore has been obliged to say as St. Paul, "Since you refuse the light which I would have given you I shake off the dust of my feet, and I leave you in your dismal unbelief."²³

This realistic evaluation of Indian life and manners, with its clearly expressed impression of the Negroes, states the missionary problem as it so often revealed itself to men actively at work on the ground, in divers parts of the colonies. Nevertheless, Mr. Neau did teach a few

¹⁹*Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A. 2, No. CXII.*

²⁰*Report of Committee for Establishing Catechist in the Plantation in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, January 15, 1702/3.*

²¹*Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, July 10, 1703, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, Oct. 15, 1703.*

²²*For a good account of Neau's labors see William Webb Kemp, The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, pp. 234-261.*

²³*Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 15, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A. 2, No. CXXV.*

Indians, and in March 1706, he wrote to the Society that he was continuing “. . . to instruct the Negroes and Indians”²⁴ who came to his house, and asked the members for an Indian catechism for a Mr. Osterwald, of Neufchatel, who took a great interest in the Indians.²⁵

Governor Cornbury, however, was not discouraged by Mr. Moore's lack of success; he still was confident of Indian conversion. In 1707, he asked the S. P. G. to send a minister to Albany, one who could teach school as well as “. . . make the Mission to the Indians effectual, . . . I would appoint one of the Interpreters to attend him by which means he might learn something of the Indian Language, then there might be some hopes of his doing some good among these Heathen, but for a Minister of the Church of England to convert the Indians to Christianity by a Dutch Interpreter, will never do.”²⁶ The Indians declared that they had been the neighbors of the English for many years, yet had never been taught religion, “. . . but as soon as the French came we [Indians] learnt it of them, and in that we will live and dye, let them look to this that have as much favor in their hands, but not that zeale to stretch them forth to do good.”²⁷

In addition to this critical letter, the Society received one from Rev. William Uguhart of Long Island in which he related the murder of the William Halliot family, including husband and wife, and five children by two slaves, one Indian and one Negro, stressing the fact that the Indian had been brought up by Mr. Halliot from the age of four.²⁸

Another disillusioning report from Long Island came from the Rev. John Thomas of Hamstead (Hempstead). He explained that the Society had a very imperfect notion of the native Indians; it was impossible to impart any Christian impression, education, moral or otherwise, because the “. . . Indians are wholly given up to drink and sotchiness, rum and strong liquor being the only deities they now care [for] or are solicitous to worship.”²⁹

The following year, 1710, four Iroquois Sachems³⁰ went to England to appear before Queen Anne, asking that someone be sent to their country to instruct them. The proposal was laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Earl of Sunderland, who, in turn, presented it to the Society so that its members “. . . may consider what

²⁴Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, March 1, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CLIX.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Lord Cornbury to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 29, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 155.

²⁷Rev. John Talbot to John Chamberlayne, Rhode Island, December 13, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 158.

²⁸Rev. William Uguhart to John Chamberlayne, Jamaica, Long Island, February 4, 1707/08, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 176.

²⁹John Thomas to John Chamberlayne, Hamstead [Long Island], June 12, 1709, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. IX.

³⁰Their names were Henrique, John, Brant, and Etchwa Caume.

may be the more proper ways of cultivating that good disposition these Indians seem to be in for receiving the Christian faith, and for sending thither fit persons for that purpose . . ."³¹ Mr. Chamberlayne at once wrote the Society regarding the affair, and enclosed an address by the Sachems to the Society which read in part:

'Tis with great satisfaction that the Indian sachems reflect upon the usage and answers they received from the chief ministers of Christ's religion in our great Queen's dominions, when they asked their assistance for the thorough conversion of their nations. 'Tis thence expected that such of them will ere long come over and help to turn those of Our subjects from Satan unto God as may by their great knowledge and pious practices convince the enemies to saving faith that the only true God is not amongst them.³²

A Select Committee of the S. P. G. then met at Lambeth, and agreed upon several resolutions. First, that the design of propagating the gospel in foreign parts related primarily to the conversion of the heathen, and therefore that branch of work should be prosecuted preferably to all others; next, that immediate steps were to be taken to send itinerant missionaries to preach among the Six Nations; and last, that no more missionaries be sent among the white Christians except to those places where the ministers were dead or removed, unless the Society had enough funds for both projects.³³ After consulting Col. Francis Nicholson, Col. Peter Schuyler,³⁴ and the Indian Sachems themselves, the following resolutions were passed for the more practical administration of the new policy of concentrating on the natives, by providing for two ministers (single men) and an interpreter, who were

³¹Earl of Sunderland to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitehall, April 20, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. LXXXVI.

³²Indian Sachems to the Venerable Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (n. d.) in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 55, No. LXXXVIII (enclosed in Archbishop of Canterbury to John Chamberlayne, April 20, 1710, q. v.).

³³Report of Select Committee on the Six Nations of Indians, Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710.

³⁴Col. Schuyler (1657-1724) had accompanied the Indians to England. In 1686, he had been made mayor of Albany, and, as such, became head of the Board of Indian Commissioners. His constant object was to cement friendly relations between the Five Nations and the English. Both Col. Schuyler and Col. Nicholson are best known for their parts in the British expeditions for the conquest of Canada, especially Port Royal, 1710. Nicholson (1655-1728) began his career in the colonies as captain of the troops sent to New England under Sir Edmund Andros, became a Member of the Council for the Dominion of New England, and in 1688, Lieutenant Governor. Nicholson's varied career included the governorships of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Nova Scotia. Col. Nicholson was an enthusiastic member of the S. P. G., and on his death left most of his estate to the Society. Col. Nicholson, after Governor Cornbury, was instrumental in convening a conference of the Anglican clergy in New York to discuss Indian conversion and education shortly after Rev. Mr. Moore's arrival as missionary.

to live at Dynderoogby, the chief Mohawk village, at a salary of £50 a year for each minister and £60 for the interpreter. Moreover, a chapel, house, and a fort for their defense were to be built; specific instructions were to be given to the ministers, and the Indian children were to be taught in English; a brief history of the Bible or New Testament, a Catechism, some prayers and psalms were to be translated into the Indian language, printed and distributed among the Indians, in which errors in the French Quebec Catechism were to be noted; laws against intoxicating liquors were to be strictly enforced, in accordance with the wishes of the Indian chiefs themselves; and lastly, a plea to the Queen for an Anglican Bishop was to be made, based in part on the success of the French under a Roman Catholic Bishop at Quebec.³⁵

The Indian Sachems were again brought before the Society, and, through an interpreter, these resolutions were explained to them. The Indians expressed satisfaction, promised to care for the Ministers sent to them, and agreed not to admit any Jesuits or French priests among them. It was then decided to give each Indian a Bible and Common Prayer, handsomely bound in red turkey leather.³⁶ In a letter of May 2, 1710, the Indians thanked the Society and hoped for the early arrival of the ministers.

Political as well as religious arguments for missionaries were repeatedly used. On May 22, Col. Francis Nicholson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

I was in hopes before I left Great Britain to have received her Majesty's . . . commands concerning the chapel and house for the missionaries which were to be in an Indian fort, as likewise about an interpreter. . . . These things being promised, the Indians, . . . fully rely thereupon and nothing will convince them but ocular demonstration . . . if there be not a speedy beginning made I fear they will at least suspect that what was promised them will not be performed and that will not only be a point of ill consequence of religion but of state also. . . .³⁷

Steps were soon taken to fulfill these promises. In 1709, the Rev. Thomas Barclay who had been appointed minister at Albany and incidentally to instruct the neighboring Indians, was at once given an Indian boy by the Commissioners of Indian affairs, to be trained as a na-

³⁵*Select Committees Resolutions for effective converting of the Indians, Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710. This is one of the first pleas for a Bishop for the colonies, the appeal continued in vain for the duration of the Society's connection with the American colonies.*

³⁶*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710, and May 19, 1710.*

³⁷*Col. Francis Nicholson to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on board her Majesty's ship Dragon, 100 leagues from Lands End, May 22, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. XCIV, see also a letter regarding same from Col. Schuyler, ibid., A 5, No. XCV.*

tive teacher.³⁸ The boy was the son of a French Christian Indian, and consequently a promising pupil. A little later, the expressions of English missionary nationalism naturally occurred as the English came into contact with French and Dutch religious activity. Rev. Mr. Barclay reported the death of Mr. Lydius, the Dutch minister, who had been working among the Indians, and believed that a minister especially for the Indians was sorely needed because the Indians that had come under Mr. Lydius' care were "so ignorant and scandalous that they can scarce be reputed Christians."³⁹ Moreover, Barclay observed that in his opinion Prince Hendrick, who was so honored in England did not have ten Indian followers, and that the other three Indians were not Sachems. In short, the Society and Her Majesty had been imposed upon,⁴⁰ a view which the Society was unwilling to accept.

In Great Britain much interest was aroused in favor of the Indian mission, an anonymous contributor gave £20,⁴¹ and several missionaries were suggested. A Mr. Henderson was the first candidate recommended but he was rejected because he was not a native Englishman.⁴² Mr. Barclay and Col. Robert Hunter recommended the Rev. Mr. Freeman of the Dutch Congregation who had translated part of the Liturgy into the Indian language. The Bishop of Salisbury suggested Mr. Edward Bishop of Somersetshire;⁴³ William Cordiner wished a Mr. Hunt to go to New York;⁴⁴ but none of these applicants was approved, and it was not until 1712 that a missionary to the Indians was appointed, a discouraging delay often met with in eighteenth century negotiations.

During the interval, various encouraging reports concerning the New York Indians found their way to England. In May, 1711, Governor Robert Hunter wrote that "the Indians are solicitous for their missionaries and forts promised them. The Lord Bishop of London

³⁸Thomas Barclay to the Bishop of London, New York, July 5, 1709, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 5, No. 1. Mr. Barclay said that it cost him £15 for the boy's diet and schooling, so he asked for an increase in salary. In 1710, an allowance was asked for the boy. See a letter from Barclay to John Chamberlayne, Albany, September 26, 1710, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 5, No. CLXXVI.

³⁹Thomas Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, September 26, 1710, in *Journal of S. P. G. I*, January 19, 1710/11.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Richard King to John Chamberlayne, Exon, October 4, 1710, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 5, No. CLVI.

⁴²Bishop of London to John Chamberlayne, [London], June 18, 1710, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 5, No. CXIV, and *ibid.*, September 15, 1710, A 5, No. CXXVII.

⁴³*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, January 5, 1710/11.

⁴⁴William Cordiner to John Chamberlayne, London, February 23, 1711, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. XII, Mr. Bishop said that he understood the mission to the Iroquois was the best preferment in America. See a letter from him to John Chamberlayne, Somerset, April, 1711, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. LIX.

writes me about the Queen's bounty for that purpose, but I have as yet heard nothing of it. . . ." ⁴⁵ The Society had, however, received £136 of the sum of £400 promised by the Queen for building a House, Chapel and Fort, and Colonel Nicholson had been empowered to draw upon other funds for the rest of the sum in case it was not paid out of the Treasury. ⁴⁶

Aided by the colonial Governor, Rev. Thomas Barclay zealously endeavored to bring the Indians into the Anglican Church, and was encouraged in several conferences with the Chiefs at Albany and Schenectady. ⁴⁷ Rev. Mr. Barclay told of his own successes with the Indians,

The proselytes have accepted of My Ministry, and on the 23 of My [May] last in our English Chapel at Albany, I christened a child of one of their chief Sachems, and on the 9 of this Month I had a Meeting . . . in the Church of Schenectady, to the number of 50 and upwards. They have been converted to the Christian Faith by the Popish Missionaries and by Monsieur Dellius, Freeman, and Lydius. After I had Catechized several of them, I found three fit for receiving the Sacrament, and the day following being Sunday, they very devoutly received it at My hands. The same day I christened two of their children. . . .

The Indian interpreter hath been assisting to me in bringing the proselytes and I have promised him 15 or 10 £, at least for the first year. ⁴⁸

To the Society Colonel Schuyler reported the gratitude of the Indians for the notice taken of them and their eager expectancy in the arrival of the missionaries. He had laid a plan for the fort and chapel with an estimated expense of about £900 sterling. ⁴⁹ A little later, Governor Robert Hunter announced that he had her Majesty's orders ". . . in conjunction with Col. Nicholson, to build forts and chapels, not exceeding the value of £1000 New York money." ⁵⁰

⁴⁵Governor Robert Hunter to John Chamberlayne, New York, May 7, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. LXX.

⁴⁶Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), II, March 22, 1710/11.

⁴⁷Hendrick, the Indian Sachem, was not at the meeting of the Proselytes at Schenectady. See Thomas Barclay to Secretary, Albany, July 3, 1711, in S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. CXXIX^a.

⁴⁸Thomas Barclay to Secretary, Albany, June 12, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. CXXIX. In this letter can also be found an account of the opposition given Barclay by Mr. Debois, minister of the Dutch congregation.

⁴⁹Col. Schuyler to [Secretary], Albany, May 4, 1711, in Journal of S. P. G., II, June 22, 1711, also S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, LXXI.

⁵⁰Gov. Robert Hunter to Secretary, New York, September 12, 1711 (Postscript) in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. CXXXII; also in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), II, November 29, 1711.

Rev. Mr. Barclay wrote hopefully, "I need not tell you that a fort is a building in the Mohogs [sic] country and will be finished in July next. The Chapel is to be 24 foot square. There is a house . . . ordered for the Missionaries. . . ." ⁵¹ He contemplated a visit to the fort, which was only twenty eight miles above Schenectady and could be reached in one day from Albany. Mr. Barclay urged that the Society send men with zeal and courage, because the French Indians were bold and committed bloody murders. ⁵²

Rev. John Sharpe, a former missionary in New Jersey, also joined in words of warning:

I am sorry there is so little hopes of doing good among the Indians. We received the news of their being of late very insolent, and that they have chased away the carpenters who were (at their own request) sent to build a fort and chapel in their country. . . . They speak . . . as they are moved by liquor and presents. . . . Those who pass in England for emperors were not representatives of the Five Nations, but Mohawks of the nearest Nation to Albany. The French have their priests now among the Senecas and Onondagoes. . . . ⁵³

Under these circumstances, Mr. Barclay naturally pressed the need for liquor laws, ". . . and if a law be not promoted at home against selling strong liquors to the Natives in any of her Majesty's Colonies in America, there is no possibility of doing any good to them." ⁵⁴

To facilitate Indian conversion, Mr. Barclay asked Mr. B. Freeman, of the Dutch congregation at Flatbush, to send to the Society part of his Indian translation of the liturgy of the Church of England. Mr. Freeman supplied the Morning and Evening Prayer, Creed of Athanasius, and the Litany in the dialect of the Mohawks, the first of the Five Nations although it was understood by all Five Nations. ⁵⁵ In

⁵¹Thomas Barclay to [John Chamberlayne], Albany, Nov. 21, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 130-131.

⁵²Mr. Barclay relates how the French Indians, not far from Albany, barbarously murdered a whole family of twelve. This frightened the farmers and forced them to leave their homes and flocks. See Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, Nov. 21, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 130-131.

⁵³John Sharpe to [William Taylor], New York, June 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 214-215. Regarding the French, Mr. Sharpe said that they had imposed upon ". . . them to believe there were instructions found in a chest drove ashore from some of the fleet that were cast away in Canada River which directed, that after the reduction of Canada the Continent being in the hands of the English, all the Indians should be destroyed. They have upon this met together which they never presumed to do without the consent of the Government till now."

⁵⁴Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, New York, May 31, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, p. 206.

⁵⁵Mr. Barclay transmitted these to the Society, in May, 1712, see a letter from him to William Taylor, New York, May 31, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 204-206.

August, 1700, Lord Bellamont ordered Mr. Freeman to instruct the Mohawks. He explained his plan for converting the Indians, and his success and methods in making the translations.

I had one Indian constantly by me of whom I gathered several words, but afterward out of their language I found 16 alphabetical letters. . . . By this alphabet I taught that Indian to read and write perfectly . . . besides what I have translated of your liturgy, I have done in the Indian tongue the Gospel of St. Matthew . . . and the 1. 2. 3. Chapters of Genesis, as also 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 17. 18. 19. of the same book . . . the 1. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. and 20 of Exodus. I have likewise translated the 1. 5. 6. 15. 22. 32. 38. Psalms, besides the whole . . . of St. Mathew. . . . A short explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed . . . a short system of Theology. . . .⁵⁶

The Indians, he continued, had a great veneration for the English liturgy, especially the Litany, "at the reading of which they frequently did tremble." Mr. Freeman was happy that Anglican missionaries were coming to the Indians, and he placed his translations and papers at their disposal.⁵⁷

In February, 1712, Mr. Barclay's load was reduced by the appointment of Mr. William Andrews as missionary to the Indians of New York.⁵⁸ He had been in the plantations, had some understanding of the Indian languages, and possessed a character well suited to this work. He was to receive £80 per year and his interpreter £60, and, upon his entering speedily on his duties in the Mohawk country, he was to be paid £50.⁵⁹

The Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the S. P. G. gave generously to help out the mission. Queen Anne donated a communion cloth, altar cloth, cushions, a Bible, and several other items. The Archbishop of Canterbury furnished copies of the Commandments,

⁵⁶B. Freeman to [William Taylor], Flatbush, May 28, 1712. (Read to the Society October 10, 1712) in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 204-205. Mr. Freeman also translated other texts of scripture in relation to Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and some of his writings discussed the errors of the Church of Rome.

⁵⁷Mr. Freeman said he had no consideration for his work among the Indians, the Government had promised him £75 per annum but failed to pay him.

⁵⁸Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), II, February 22, 1711/12.

⁵⁹Testimonial of William Andrews, Missionary to the Six Nations, London, April, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 102-104; William Taylor to Gov. Robert Hunter, London, May 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 289-290.

Lord's Prayer, and some prints; and the Society sent a painting of its arms, and sixty sermons.⁶⁰

By August, the Fort and Chapel had been finished and garrisoned by the Governor. Pending the arrival of Andrews, Barclay went among the Mohawks and was kindly received by them. Sixty Indians came to hear him preach⁶¹ and two children were baptized.

In October, the Rev. Mr. Andrews landed in New York, and, on November 13, he arrived at Albany. Barclay gave an account of his reception by the Indians:

. . . at his arrival he was welcomed by the five principal Sachems, viz. Sachan, or (Amos), Henrick, Taqueinant, Tajoris, and a fifth whose name I have forgot. There were also present several of their chief squas [sic] and young men. . . . The 15 Nov. the Commissioners for Indian affairs being met and the five sachems with them . . . the sachems . . . promised him all civil and kind usage. . . . Hendrick . . . expressed . . . their highest gratitude to Almighty God who had inclined the . . . Queen . . . to send them one to lead them on the way to Heaven, they being in the dark full of dismal fears and perplexities, not knowing what shall become of them after this life. Next he returned their humble thanks to the most religious Queen Anne, to their ghostly Father, his Grace the Archbishop, and the rest of the Spiritual Sachems of that Godly body (as they were pleased to call the Society)

⁶⁰*William Taylor to Gov. Robert Hunter, London, Saturday, July 26, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, p. 267. The exact gifts were as follows:*

Gifts for the Mohawk Chapels given by Queen Anne,

1 communion Table Cloth

2 Damask Napkins

1 Carpet for the Communion Table

1 Altar Cloth

1 Pulpit Cloth

1 Large cushion with tassels

1 Small cushion for the desk

1 Holland surplice

2 Common Prayer Books, one for each Chapel

1 Book of homilies

4 of Her Majesty's Arms . . .

1 large silver salver

2 large silver flaggons

1 silver dish which is a drawer under the other plate

1 silver cup

Gifts given by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

2 tables of the Commandments and Lord's Prayer

97 prints of the Queen's effigies, arms, etc., to be distributed among the Indians

Gifts given by the Society,

1 Society's arms painted to be put up in the Chapel

50 Octavo

10 Quarto

Sermons to be distributed in the Province

⁶¹*The sermon was taken from Matthew 21:18, "It is written my house shall be called the house of prayer."*

who had been pleased to send them a father . . . and last of all to the minister who had travelled so far for their good.⁶²

Hendrick, however, voiced some suspicion and requested that none of the Mohawks' land be clandestinely bought from them, for to do so would only cause their enmity. He also hoped that the rumor that one-tenth of the Indian goods was to be taken from them for the support of the minister was false. Andrews assured him that he and the English had no such design.⁶³ On November 20, Mr. Andrews set out for the Mohawk country, accompanied by Robert Livingstone Jr., Mayor of Albany, Captain Mathews, a Churchwarden, Justice Strooman of Schenectady and Mr. Barclay. Mr. Andrews entered upon his duties at once preaching and baptizing two Indian children. However, the interpreter was a Dutchman, unacquainted with the English tongue, therefore a Mr. John Oliver was hired to translate Mr. Andrews' sermon into Dutch for the interpreter to render into Indian. Mr. Oliver was hired to teach in the Indian School.⁶⁴

One of the first letters written by Mr. Andrews to the Society read, in part,

. . . I find, I thank God, most of the Indians that are at home (for the greatest part of them as they tell me are abroad which I have not yet seen) very well disposed to embrace those Christian doctrines which are delivered to them, as appears from their diligence in coming to Church and their seeming good attention and devotion when there, and where we have commonly 50 or 60 every Lord's Day, but I hope when the others come home we shall have a great many more. I had 18 at the Sacrament on Christmas Day. I have baptized 8 of their children and a young Man about 24 years of age.⁶⁵

Two months later he again wrote that the Dutch as well as the English traders were not keen on having a minister settle among them, and the "extortion, deceitful dealing, lying and cheating" of the Traders had a bad influence on the Indians.⁶⁶ He deprecated the utter lack of real concern for the Indians baptized by priests, for they never instructed the Indians previous to baptism. A school was greatly needed, and Mr. Andrews asked the Society's advice as to whether to teach the

⁶²Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, December 17, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 125-128.

⁶³Record of meeting of Commissioners of Indian affairs in Albany, November 15, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 254-256.

⁶⁴Mr. Oliver was formerly a clerk to Mr. Barclay, and had always been a communicant of the Church. He was to be paid out of the interpreter's salary.

⁶⁵William Andrews to William Taylor, Fort Hunter, January 13, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 227-228.

⁶⁶William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 144.

children in their own language or in English. Andrews himself did not favor English because it gave the Indians "opportunity of conversing the more with the English as also with Dutch who speak English, and so to learn their vices."⁶⁷ To encourage education, Mr. Andrews requested the Society ". . . to order the value of 5£ in some trifling things such as coarse beads, small knives, small scissors, small brass rings and the like. . . ."⁶⁸ At first he described the Mohawk Nation as numbering about 260,⁶⁹ but by September, 1713, he thought there must be 580⁷⁰ adults and many children. Their life was a roving one, and their language was the most difficult to learn because the words were so long, the language was imperfect in adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections, and so much had to be supplied by the understanding of the hearer.

In other words, Andrews almost at once faced all of the major problems of Indian conversion and civilization. Some of these were: the evil influence of the trader, Dutch and English; French rivalry and hostility from Canada; matters of religious education as to what stage when baptism should occur; what should be taught in the school and in what language, a pressing problem in Africa today, always related to whether learning a white man's language opens a road to culture or to vice; and the task of learning a native language by grown up men. Just as classical Latin in the first centuries had to be seriously modified to express the ideas of Christianity, so now to teach the new religion in the Indian language might well discourage the most stout hearted. The life and habits of the Indians were interestingly described by Mr. Andrews.

Their chief town or Castle . . . stands by the fort, consisting of 40 or 50 wigwams or houses, palisaded around. Another of their chief towns, between 20 and 30 houses is three or four and twenty miles distant from this. They have several other little towns, 7 or 8 houses in a town, and single houses up and down pretty near their Castle, next to the fort. Their houses are made of mats and bark of trees together with poles about 3 or 4 yards high. Their clothing is a match coat, like a mantle, either a blanket or a bear's skin. They paint and grease themselves . . . cut the hair off from one side of their heads and some of that on the other, they tie up in knots upon the crown with feathers, tufts of fur upon their ears, and some of them wear a bead fasten to their nose, with a thread hang-

⁶⁷William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 146.

⁶⁸William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 146 ff.

⁶⁹William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 147.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, September 7, 1713, S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 185.

ing down to their lips, bead and wampum about their necks and waists. The men are slothful and lazy enough. The women laborious, true servants of their husbands—carry all the burdens fetch the venison . . . the wood . . . carry the children . . . on their backs, hoe the ground, plant the corn, wait upon their husbands when they eat and take what they leave them. Yet for all this . . . the women court the men when they design marriage. . . . The vices they are most guilty of is drinking . . . especially rum, and changing their wives when they are weary of them. . . . I have been at great expense in treating them, especially at my first coming among them, and am still frequently giving them victuals and drink for they are constant visitors when they are well used.”⁷¹

Despite these difficulties, thirteen baptisms were reported for the period from November 22, 1712 to March 9, 1713.⁷² A schoolmaster was much needed, for the assistant to the Interpreter was of slight use, and the Indians had built a school and were anxious to send their children, who numbered in this vicinity about forty.⁷³ Some of the pupils, however, were sixteen to eighteen years of age. So urgent was this problem that he had hired a teacher, in addition to the interpreter, pending the Society’s approval. The Mohawks were apt pupils but needed printed books because the parents wished to have them educated in their own language. As early as February, 1714, Andrews transmitted to the Society, for the printer, manuscripts of the Church Catechism, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, Psalms, and English

⁷¹William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen’s Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 146-147. Mr. Andrews said that changing of wives was not a common practice and as a rule, husband and wife were kind to one another, and shared possessions peaceably.*

⁷²Complete list of baptisms was inclosed in William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen’s Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 257.*

Name	Age	Date Baptized	Parents
Aaron	Infant	Nov. 23, 1712	Peter and Cornelia
Cornelius	Infant	Nov. 23, 1712	Sachtachrogi & Anne
Catherine	Infant	Jan. 11, 1713	Simon and Josiena
Elizabeth	2 years	Jan. 11, 1713	Onagsakeartet & Maria
Luke	4 years	Jan. 11, 1713	Phillin and Anne
Ezra	22 years	Jan. 11, 1713
Solomon	2 years	Jan. 25, 1713	Tinliherarounswow & Sara
Anne	4 years	Jan. 25, 1713	Uttagrarondagroungh & Anne
Sarah	Infant	Jan. 25, 1713	Uttagrarondagroungh & Anne
Zachariah	4 years	Feb. 22, 1713	Joseph Sagcot & Hannah
Hannah	Infant	Feb. 22, 1713	Joseph Sagcot & Hannah
Aron	Infant	Feb. 22, 1713	Ezra and wife
Mary	Infant (?)	March 8, 1713	Ezra and Maria

⁷³Andrews said he would willingly undertake it but his other work took up all of his time. He strongly recommended Mr. Oliver because he spoke both English and Dutch and knew the Indian language as well as his own, as he had been taken a prisoner by the Indians when a mere child.

Hornbooks.⁷⁴ He also requested three reams of writing paper for the Indians, six dozen inkhorns, and as many pens. He recommended a minimum of £30 for the schoolteacher because of necessities of living,

There is no manner of pleasure to be proposed by living here, but only the hopes of doing some good among those poor dark ignorant creatures, for in the winter season for 4 or 5 months we can scarce stir abroad by reason of . . . coldness . . . and in summer tormented with flies and mosquitoes . . . and snakes. . . . In the next place the transporting of provisions to this place is very chargeable. The nearest towns to us of the Christian inhabitants, where we by what we want, is Schenectady and Albany. The one about 24 and the other about 44 miles [distant].⁷⁵

His record of baptisms, from March 8 to September 3, 1713, totalled 32; sixteen received the Sacrament at Easter and twenty-four the fifth Sunday after Trinity.⁷⁶ Moreover, the next year he visited the Onondaga Indians and baptized several. The father or mother of these had been baptized by the French Missionaries in Canada. The sachems of this tribe refused to have a fort among them, whereas the rank and file were willing to have both a fort and a minister.⁷⁷

Although Rev. Mr. Andrews' first reports on the school were favorable, it soon appeared that, after three or four months, many of the Indians wearied of book learning and their parents would not compel them to conform and adapt themselves to the white man's aims and plans. He hoped, however, that when the parents saw the progress of the persistent pupils, who were beginning to read and write their own language, they would keep their children at school. He was teaching three or four of them English, and had taken two into his own house. The trinkets, such as beads, cord, knives, buttons, etc., were of great help.⁷⁸

⁷⁴He said that if the Society could not have them printed in England without mistakes, it should be done in New York where some one could be with the printer. It was decided that the Prayers should be printed in England, but the Hornbook should be printed in the colonies to show respect to the Indians. See the *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, II, March 4, 1713/14.

⁷⁵William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort by the Mohawk's Castle*, September 7, 1713, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 8, p. 184.

⁷⁶List of those baptized can be found enclosed in William Andrews to William Taylor, September 7, 1713, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 8, pp. 304-305. Ages range from infants to 75 years.

⁷⁷Mr. Andrews to [Secretary] *Queen's Fort by the Mohawk Castle*, May 25, 1714, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, Oct. 15, 1714.

⁷⁸Invoice of Sundries shipped on Board the "Drake", John Tucker, Master, for New York, on the proper account and risk of the Honorable and Reverend Society . . . and goes consigned to Rev. Mr. William Andrews . . . in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 8, pp. 306-307. Among Articles sent were: 2 bundles of black and green beads; 2 bundles of crystal and amber colors [sic]; 4 bundles small red; 8 bundles larger red; 6 dozen sizers; 1 doz. knives; 1 doz. forks; 2 dozen boys knives; 3 dozen feather quilts; 2 dozen pictures in quilt frames; 2 dozen small stone rings and three cards colored sleeve buttons. The total price, including transportation, was 5£, 13s, 10d.

Opposition to Mr. Andrew's education was instigated by Dutch traders. He wrote to the Society,

. . . the Dutch traders, a sordid, base sort of people . . . are continually suggesting notions to the Indians to make divisions and factions among them to make them dislike my being among them. One while telling them that the design of the English in building forts among them is only to get their land from them another while caluminating me, telling them that I am an ill man, that I preach a Popish religion to them and that there are none so fit to instruct them as the Dutch. . . ."⁷⁹

Many of the Dutch informed the Indians that religious instruction was worthless, and they told Mr. Andrews that Indian Christianization was hopeless. But he affirmed that as far as he understood the Indian tribal customs and, "considering they have no laws among them, they are, many of them, better Christians than they [Dutch] themselves are."⁸⁰ Mr. Andrews particularly opposed Dutch liquor selling and Sunday trading, and the Dutch, in turn, attempted to drive him away. But the Society steadfastly encouraged him, and in June, 1714, sent him three dozen gilt hornbooks, three dozen gilt primers, one ream Dutch paper, one ream fine writing paper, one ream ordinary paper, six dozen leather inkhorns, and six dozen pen knives.⁸¹ In order to solve the language difficulty, the missionary urged the Society to send him two English boys, between the ages of 9 and 12 to be trained as interpreters. Although his work with children and women went on with success, the men were too often carried away by drink. When asked why they got drunk, the Indians often replied, why do you Christians sell us so much rum.⁸² He implored the Society to use its influence to procure a Queen's Proclamation or an Act of Parliament to restrain all the provinces from selling strong liquors to the Indians.⁸³ For example, when he visited the Onondagas all of them were drunk on liquor just received from Albany, and consequently would not let him preach. But he believed that if the So-

⁷⁹*William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near the Mohawks, May 25, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, pp. 123-125.*

⁸⁰*William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near the Mohawks, May 25, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, pp. 123-125.*

⁸¹*Invoice of a box shipped on board the "Antelope", John King, Master, for New York, on Account and Risk of the . . . Society . . . goes consigned to Rev. Mr. William Andrews, June 20, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, p. 72.*

⁸²*The Dutch traders were selling rum by the wholesale, since the act of assembly against it had expired, and it was not thought likely to be renewed, because the argument was that if it were, the Indians would go into another province to buy it. However, such an act was passed in 1717, see Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, September 20, 1717.*

⁸³*Mr. Andrews to [Secretary], Mohawk Castle, October 15, 1714, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, June 17, 1715.*

ciety would send him a large box of pipes to give the kings of the nations, these could be used as inducements for the Indian Sachems to allow him to preach. Strangely enough it was even difficult for him to count the Indians, because if they believed anyone were trying to count them, they would move away, imagining some ill design.

In 1715, Mr. Andrews had about 100 of the baptized Indians coming to his church constantly, when they were at home;⁸⁴ many more had been baptized, but were no better nor lived otherwise than the heathen Indians. The first flush of success was being followed by a period of apathy, and his school was also diminishing, and only six or seven came to learn their language. To encourage the Indians, he asked the Society to adopt a system of prizes of blankets, shirts, and stockings for regular school attendance. In his opinion, if they did not come for this promise, it would be useless for the Society to be at any more expense either in printing books, or in continuing the Schoolmaster.⁸⁵ The scheme failed and on October 18, 1717, the schoolmaster was discharged. Henceforth the missionary himself was to teach the few remaining pupils.⁸⁶ Governor Hunter was disappointed with this action, for he believed that the best way to convert the Indians was to erect schools among them, and teach the young the English language and the Christian religion at the same time. The Governor correctly diagnosed a main difficulty when he pointed out to the Society that religion in the Indian language sounded oddly, the idioms of the two being widely different. He continued, "What we say in one short word costs them a long sentence which causes the mistake of writing down words of yards length in all translations."⁸⁷ Roman Catholics in their Indian work usually followed the procedure of carrying on their religious work in an European language, rather than attempting to make an Indian language over into an adequate medium for the expression of Christian culture.

For the next few years, Mr. Andrews made little progress, and complaints against him were sent to the Society. One Rev. Thomas Haliday, who objected to Mr. Andrews' methods, declared that the prayers which had been printed in New York were not true Indian. He asked to be appointed Indian missionary.⁸⁸ The Society at once, upon

⁸⁴Mr. Andrews to [Secretary], Kings Fort, Mohawk Castle, October 17, 1715, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, January 11, 1716/17.

⁸⁵Mr. Andrews thought it proper to defer printing the Catechism and Vocabulary until the school increased.

⁸⁶The discharge for the schoolmaster was sent to the Governor of New York, not to Mr. Andrews.

⁸⁷Governor Hunter to [Secretary], New York, October 2, 1716, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, September 20, 1717, see also *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, February 13, 1718/19.

⁸⁸Thomas Haliday to [Secretary], Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, July 13, 1715, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, February 3, 1715/16. Mr. Haliday was formerly of New York.

the receipt of this letter, wrote to Governor Hunter to ascertain the facts. He replied that, although little progress had been made by Andrews, his relative failure was not due to his want of care or attendance upon his duties, but nevertheless, he believed that a new man should be put in his place.⁸⁹ The Society decided to discontinue his salary. At the end of two centuries and for the same reasons which baffled Mr. Andrews in these early days, the solution of Indian education has not been found.

Without an outlet for use of the white man's culture, the average Indian could not interest himself in alien studies. Neither force, nor the unlovely example of the white man's life and his unintelligible customs, supplied the inner motive power which alone could make him struggle to exchange his racial independence for the white man's economy.

On July 11, 1719, Mr. Andrews wrote that he had received his order to leave in case he had no better success among the Indians. He explained that he had given up hope, as they still continued in drunkenness, and filthy living,⁹⁰ and he would leave shortly for Virginia. He left all the plates, books, and other furniture at the chapel, and a large Common Prayer Book he loaned to Mr. Barclay. The interpreter was given the manuscripts in the Indian language, and he gave an Indian lad and four girls several of the books that were printed in their language.⁹¹ All of the other books were left with Mr. Jenney, chaplain at the garrison in New York.

At Mr. Andrews' departure, the Rev. Thomas Barclay asked to combine the Mohawk Mission with his Albany work, but the Society decided to withdraw his allowance also.⁹² Barclay's financial distress apparently affected his mind, for on July 5, 1722, the clergy of New York wrote to David Humphreys, asking help for Barclay's family. This letter clearly related the missionary's devotion to his duties and revealed the pathetic condition to which he and his family had been reduced:

He hath been all along diligent in his cure and hath taken great pains in catechizing Indian infidels in a place where they are very numerous, but of late many misfortunes successfully

⁸⁹Governor Hunter to [Secretary], New York, November 4, 1718, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, February 13, 1718/19.

⁹⁰William Anders to [Secretary], New York, July 11, 1719, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, December 18, 1719. However, he said the Indians were talking of moving ten or fifteen miles further from the Christian inhabitants, in order to be nearer to another Mohawk Castle; if this were done, Mr. Andrews believed a great deal of the lewdness and swearing would be eliminated.

⁹¹Mr. Andrews believed they would soon forget what they had learned because they took no interest in their books.

⁹²Thomas Barclay to David Humphreys, Albany, New York, June 13, 1721, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 15, pp. 93-94.

attending him have at length brought him to an outrageous distraction such has obliged his friends to confine him to a dark room and in the mean time the small salary which allowed him not being paid, his family (a wife and 4 children) are reduced to extreme poverty.⁹³

Several years passed before another missionary was appointed at Albany. However, work with the Indians in other sections of the colony was progressing. From Richmond the Rev. Eneas MacKenzie wrote to the Society, that he had baptized an Indian man, twenty-two years of age, and a native of the province. He wrote about the Indian thus,

Coming accidentally upon this island he was induced to learn to read English and then was desirous to understand something of the Christian religion. I hope he will bring no scandal upon his holy profession, for he is a sober and seemingly serious young man, and there is not any reason of suspecting that he desired baptism upon any view of temporal interest or respect (it being one of the crying crimes of the generality of this country not only to discourage but to ridicule the baptizing of negroes and Indians)⁹⁴

Mr. Elias Neau reported the baptism of an Indian woman in May 1722;⁹⁵ Rev. James Wetmore, of Brookhaven⁹⁶ reported 554 native Indians in his county of Suffolk, most of them being brought up in English families, but inasmuch as no care was taken to bring them over to Christianity, he hoped a missionary could be sent them.⁹⁷

In New York city, Mr. William Huddleston, a schoolmaster, was catechizing the Indian slaves on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.⁹⁸ After Mr. Huddleston's death, in 1724, another catechist was requested to take care of the 1400 Indian and negro slaves.⁹⁹

⁹³Clergy of New York to David Humphreys in behalf of Mr. Barclay, New York, July 5, 1722, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 16, pp. 206-207. Mr. Barclay was supposed to receive £50 pension from the Crown, but for four years it had been unpaid.

⁹⁴Eneas MacKenzie to David Humphreys, Richmond [New York], August 22, 1720, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 14, p. 135.

⁹⁵Elias Neau to David Humphreys [New York, summer 1722], in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 16, p. 204; *ibid.*, New York, May 22, 1722, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IV, February 15, 1722-23.

⁹⁶Rev. Mr. Wetmore's mission was at Staten Island, but he said he could do no service there so he removed to Brookhaven, see S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 18, pp. 173-174.

⁹⁷James Wetmore to David Humphreys, Brookhaven, Long Island, May 11, 1724, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 18, pp. 173-174; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, September 19, 1724.

⁹⁸William Vesey to David Humphreys, New York, November 8, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 85. Mr. Huddleston passed away two years after Mr. Elias Neau, in 1724.

⁹⁹The Rector, Churchwardens, and Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, July 5, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 73; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, September 16, 1726.

In 1728, six years after Mr. Barclay's misfortune, the Rev. John Miln was sent to the Albany mission. In the summer of 1729, he baptized three Mohawk children, and administered the communion to ten.¹⁰⁰ He wrote to the Society,

The Indians seem very well disposed to receive the blessed Gospel among them. Everytime I go there they meet me with acclamations of joy, at some distance from their Castle where they discharge a volley of shot. I meet with much respect, kindness and civility from them. Some of them have been pretty well instructed in the grounds of Christianity by Mr. Andrews, the late Missionary to the Society am[ong] them, and indeed, they very much regret the loss of th[at] good man. At divine service where the interpreter reads the prayers and a sermon in their own language they behave themselves decently and devoutly.¹⁰¹

Mr. Miln states that he would continue to visit the Mohawks until a missionary was sent them, but, as the labor was great and hiring an interpreter expensive, he wished the Society would grant him a consideration. The Society accordingly gave him £10 for his services among the Indians.¹⁰² He visited them at least four times yearly, each time remaining four or five days, offering the Indians the Sacrament, baptizing the children, and preaching to them in their own language through an interpreter. His special care was for those that were already Christians. The number of constant communicants among the Mohawks was fourteen, and his hearers about fifty.¹⁰³ The Society's charitable assistance, Mr. Miln declared, could be no better answered than among the Indians. At Easter, in 1731, fifteen Mohawks were present as communicants and twelve children and two Indian women were baptized.¹⁰⁴

Although Mr. Miln was enthusiastic concerning his work among the Indians, he felt that he could not in addition do justice to his parish at Albany. He wrote as follows to Commissary William Vesey of New York,

I have often informed the Society of the propensity and inclination of the Mohawk Indians, to receive the Gospel; and I have taken pains and employed all the time I could spare from the exercise of my tunction in Albany to instruct them,

¹⁰⁰John Miln to David Humphreys, Albany, November 3, 1729, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 53.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, January 16, 1729.

¹⁰³John Miln to Secretary, Albany, November 4, 1730, in S. P. G. MSS., A 23, pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁴John Miln to David Humphreys, New York, November 2, 1731, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 23, p. 345.

since it pleases God to still [store] up in their hearts a desire to receive Christianity. . . . That good work can be furthered by nothing so much as to have a proper person instructed in their tongue. Since ideas can but be perfectly conveyed to them, by the means of an interpreter whose immoral life contributes to lessen the impression of his dictates.

Now, sir, as the son of the Revd. Mr. Barclay . . . is desirous of acquiring their language, designs to live amongst them for sometime and instruct them, I hope you'll recommend him to the Society's bounty.¹⁰⁵

In 1735, the state of Mr. Miln's health obliged him to go to England.¹⁰⁶ The following year an account of the state of the Church at Albany and the Mohawk Indians was laid before the Society by Lieutenant Walter Butler, commander of the British garrison at Fort Hunter. He testified that the Mohawk Indians were becoming civilized, the result of the industry of the Rev. Mr. Miln in teaching them the Christian Religion. The communicants exceeded twenty. The Mohawk Indians, as well as the Conajoharies, had often asked Lieut. Butler to try to persuade Mr. Miln to come oftener.¹⁰⁷ The Society had allowed him £10 per annum for his services among the Indians in 1730 and 1731, and he now requested £10 a year for his last four years work, which compensation was agreed to by the Society.¹⁰⁸

From the time of Rev. Mr. Miln's retirement to the appointment of his successor, Henry Barclay, in 1737, the work with the Mohawks temporarily broke off, but the work with Indians in other parts of New York continued. For example, Mr. Edward Davies, schoolmaster of Southampton on the Island of Nassau in New York, taught several Indian children;¹⁰⁹ Rev. Mr. Charlton of New York city had a number of Indian catechumens; Rev. William Harrison baptized ". . . in a religious French family . . . one Indian woman . . .";¹¹⁰ and similar letters were received by the Society from James Wetmore of

¹⁰⁵John Miln to William Vesey, New York, November 14, 1732, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 25, p. 42. Mr. Barclay had spent four years at the college at New Haven, and made excellent progress in education, and Mr. Miln believed he would become "an ornament to the Church."

¹⁰⁶Mr. Miln's mission was temporarily supplied by Mr. Orem, Chaplain to the Four Independent Companies, see Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VI, January 16, 1735/36.

¹⁰⁷The Indians often had to come to Albany to have their children baptized, or to be married. Certificate of Mr. Miln's services among the Mohawk Indians, delivered to the Society, January 16, 1735/36, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 26, p. 4. The certificate is signed by Walter Butler and sworn before James De Lancey, October 26, 1735.

¹⁰⁸S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 26, p. 1; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, February 20, 1735/36.

¹⁰⁹Edward Davies to David Humphreys, Southampton, New York, November 6, 1733, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 1, No. 9.

¹¹⁰William Harrison to David Humphreys, Staten Island, November 20, [1735], Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, April 16, 1736.

Rye and Mr. Jacob Eblig of Conajohare. The latter stated that the Indians were very numerous in his parish.¹¹¹

Although Mr. Henry Barclay, son of Rev. Thomas Barclay, was not appointed missionary to Albany and the Mohawks until October 21, 1737,¹¹² he had been appointed as catechist to the Fort Hunter Indians on May 29, 1735.¹¹³ In his first letter to the Society,¹¹⁴ he stated that the Indians desired instruction in Christianity, and the following year in a letter to the Secretary gave details of his regime,

I have made myself master of the pronunciation of their [Indian] tongue, and do perform Divine Service therein every Sunday, which they constantly and very devoutly attend; and understand me perfectly well. I daily teach above forty young men and children to read and write their own tongue, most of whom make vast progress. I also keep a Catechetical school, every evening, which all—both young and old attend. I read an exposition of the Catechism (translated for . . . Mr. Andrews) every Sunday. There are but three or four adults remaining unbaptized at Fort Hunter, and 25 infants have been baptized since my residing among them, by the Rev. M. Oël, a German Episcopal Minister. The number of communicants [is] above 40. . . .¹¹⁵

Mr. Barclay, as was to be expected, found the language extremely difficult,¹¹⁶ and had to have an interpreter, and recommended the one formerly employed by Mr. Andrews.

In the spring of 1737, Mr. Barclay went, as was necessary, to England to receive Holy Orders, and, on October 21st of the same year, was appointed missionary to the Mohawk Indians and to Albany, with a salary of £50 a year. For the translation of parts of the Scripture and of the Common Prayer Book, he was granted £5.¹¹⁷ With one-half his time devoted to the Indians, his early reports told of a steady reformation of manners and an increase in virtue. In No-

¹¹¹Jacob Eblig to [Secretary] Canojahare, September 30, 1734, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, May 21, 1736. Mr. Eblig asked for some recompense for his instruction of the Indians.

¹¹²*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, January 20, 1737/38.

¹¹³Henry Barclay to David Humphreys, Fort Hunter, November 11, 1735, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 71-72.

¹¹⁴Dated November 11, 1735, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 71-72; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, July 16, 1736.

¹¹⁵Henry Barclay to David Humphreys, Fort Hunter, August 31, 1736, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 283-284; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, December 17, 1736. In this letter, as well as his first, i. e., November 11, 1735, he asks for more money, as his board alone cost him £15 a year, and it was necessary for him to buy a house and hire an interpreter. He had been allowed £20 a year by the Society.

¹¹⁶The verbs were varied, and the conjugations numerous.

¹¹⁷*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, January 20, 1737/38. This £5 allowance was made instead of the usual one for the buying of small tracts, etc.

vember, 1738, he said he had 500 Indians under his care, 50 of whom were communicants,¹¹⁸ but his two following "Notitia Parochialis", dated June 3, 1739¹¹⁹ and November 18, 1739,¹²⁰ showed slight increases, including the baptism of two adult Indians.¹²¹

About the middle of August, 1740, the Governor of New York had a conference with representatives of the Six Nations at Albany, to renew their League of Friendship, and Mr. Barclay was asked to preach to them.¹²²

The Mohawks, (of whom there were above Seventy present) did then for the first Time make the Responses in the Prayers, and perform'd in So decent and Devout a Manner as Agreeably Surprised all that were present. The Governor also observed to them the great happiness they enjoy'd in having the means of Instruction afforded them and earnestly exhorted them to persevere in their profession.¹²³

In his analysis of this conference, Mr. Barclay emphasized the necessity of stationing a schoolmaster among the Indians because the Society could not be readily effective unless the youth were taught to read in their own language.¹²⁴

At the very time that Mr. Barclay asked for an interpreter, an unknown benefactor gave the Society £50 for work with the Mohawks,¹²⁵ the Society added £10 to this amount for a translation into Mohawk of one of the Gospels, and the Bishop of Man's Essay on the Instruc-

¹¹⁸Rev. Mr. Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, November 10, 1738, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VIII, April 13, 1739. His "Notitia Parochialis" contained:

Number of inhabitants in the City and County	10610 whites
Slaves or blacks	1110
Indians under his care	500
Communicants at Albany	35
Communicants among Indians	50
Professors of Church of England (besides Indians and garrisons)	110
Baptized within half year	20 infants
Admitted to Holy Communion	8

¹¹⁹S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. I, pp. 127-128.

¹²⁰S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. II, p. 139.

¹²¹*Ibid.*

¹²²The sermon had to be composed with the assistance of the interpreter; however, Mr. Barclay received much satisfaction in knowing that he was well understood.

¹²³Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Fort Hunter, October 15, 1740, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. II, p. 141; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VIII, March 20, 1740/41.

¹²⁴Barclay's greatest hopes were built on the Indian youths, and he had tried several ways to obtain an allowance for a teacher, but to no avail.

¹²⁵Additional light has been thrown on the great generosity of British people during the middle years of the eighteenth century in a recent study, W. S. Lewis and Ralph M. Williams, *Private Charity in England, 1747-1757*, p. 28, 1938, Yale University Press.

tion of the Indians.¹²⁶ The Society also gave Barclay instructions to appoint an Indian schoolmaster. Barclay was delighted with the new aggressive policies. He found the drunkenness of the Indians much decreased. He had not seen above ten drunken people all summer, whereas on his first coming, he saw at least that many every day. Besides, his Communicants had increased from 50 to 58.¹²⁷ Strangely however, just at the moment of success in America, the debate within the Society in England was renewed on the matter of spiritual care for Indians versus the claims of the white colonists. This question was reopened by Dr. Henry Stebbing, who, in 1742, preached the annual Sermon, asserting that the first object of the S. P. G. was not to convert heathen in the colonies but to care for its own people. He declared, "The Converting of Heathens is a *secondary, incidental* Point," and he saw no great likelihood of the conversion of the Indians, mentioning the Mohawks especially.¹²⁸

In America, Mr. Barclay proceeded with his plans, and, with the advice and Consent of the Governor and Commissioners, appointed two schoolmasters at ten pounds New York currency to each.

One *Cornelius* a Sacheme at the Lower and One Daniel att the Upper Town. The Former is very faithful and Diligent and vastly Successful; and so is the Latter. . . . The Society will be pleased to Observe, that there are two hunting Seasons, when the Indians take all their Families with them; at these times the Schoolmasters have leave to go a hunting and are Commonly Two Months Out at a time.

The Building of the Church and my own house, and a great Scarcity of Provisions among the Indians, which has Obligated them to be much abroad; have prevented my catechising as usual. . . .¹²⁹

The schoolmasters were obliged to write their own manuscripts for instruction, for there were of course no Indian books for that purpose, and besides, the interpreter and translator that Mr. Barclay had engaged had died. Encouraging was the fact that another present of five guineas was given to this work; and to Mr. Barclay, the Society

¹²⁶Henry Barclay to Rev. Dr. Berriman (Fellow of Eaton College, London), Albany, December 7, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 9, No. 83.

¹²⁷Henry Barclay to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, November 9, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 9, No. 81-82; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IX, February 19, 1741/42.

¹²⁸Sermons preached before S. P. G. in St. Mary Le Bow, February 19, 1742, by Henry Stebbing, Chancellor of Sarum. (Huntington Library).

¹²⁹Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, November 17, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 10, No. 112.

gave a gratuity of £50 because of "the expensiveness and laboriousness of the mission."¹³⁰

But in the midst of King George's War, smooth sailing was not to be expected. In fact, about the middle of January, 1745, a severe disturbance occurred among the Indians. Six Indians coming home from Schenectady, alarmed the whole Indian town by telling them that the white people were coming "to cut them all in Pieces." This caused most of the Indians to flee into the woods. Mr. Barclay gave the following account to the Society,

As Soon as I heard It, I call'd . . . many of them together . . . which had a good Effect. . . . But the Authors of the Sedition, opposed us with Violence, . . . and warn'd them [the Indians] . . . that I was the chief Contriver of the Destruction intended against them. . . . I was a very bad man and in League with the Devil who was an Author of All the Books I have given them. Very few of the Lower Mohawks could be brought to believe in this. . . . But the Upper Town was all in a Flame. . . . I gave notice to Commissioners of Indian Affairs . . . who . . . prevailed with . . . them. . . . They promised to lay aside all thoughts of It for the Future.
 . . . ¹³¹

This affair produced much uneasiness, and was reputed to be work of French who had some emissaries endeavoring to corrupt the Indians away from the British allegiance.

Amidst all this confusion, Barclay exerted himself vigorously, and in October, 1745, was able to report baptisms of three Tuscarora Indians, one of the Oneida tribe, and the attendance of seven Mohawks at Communion in the past six months.¹³² In his absence, he engaged "some of the better sort of Indians" to lead prayers on Sundays. Their salary was paid out of a benefaction of £35 given to him for use in the Indian work.¹³³ About this same time, he was asked to accept the

¹³⁰Philip Bearcroft to Henry Barclay, [Charterhouse, London], June 14, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B, 10, No. 196. In addition, the Society recommended that Mr. Barclay receive his father's pension of £50 per annum for officiating to the Garrison at New York. The petition was granted. See *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 13, p. 38.

¹³¹Henry Barclay to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, March 12, 1744/45, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 13, pp. 314-315. For a survey covering the whole period of the Iroquois alliance with the English, see John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, 1938, Macmillan; reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25, No. 3, 398-399, December, 1938.

¹³²Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, October 21, 1745, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 13, p. 317; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), X, November 15, 1745.

¹³³Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 9, 1746, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 14, p. 99. This £35 had been given several years previous and Mr. Barclay said he had forgotten "to mention the Benefaction."

call of Trinity Church, New York, as Commissary Vesey had died.¹³⁴ At first he hesitated because of his interest in the Indians, but his efforts were thwarted and his safety endangered on account of the war (1740-1748). In fact, the flourishing county of Albany had become a near wilderness, deserted by its inhabitants and almost laid waste by the French Indians.¹³⁵ Governor Clinton felt that the removal of Mr. Barclay from Albany would be bad policy and so informed Secretary Philip Bearcroft,

. . . considering Mr. Barclay's situation amongst the Indians, whose assistance might have been of use in the intended Expedition against Canada; Their uneasiness at Mr. Barclay's removal must evidently appear from a petition I have since had from the Indians, and which I have transmitted to the Ministry with proper remarks: that petition will show how ill grounded the excuse is, which some of his friends have trumped up for calling him from them, that he is in danger of his life amongst them, which is contrary to truth.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, Barclay remained in New York, but promised faithfully to make the Mohawks his special concern and care, and offered to try to find a proper person as his successor.¹³⁷ He asked the Society to give a small sum to a German clergyman of his Church, a Mr. Oël, who lived in the Indian country between the Upper and Lower Mohawk Towns. Mr. Barclay explained, "This Gentleman administers the Sacraments to the Indians Some of whom, I also learn, continue to meet together every Lord's Day."¹³⁸

During this decade, from 1740 to 1750, work with the Indians was also under way in other parts of New York, but these cells of activity were on a small scale. The Rev. Thomas Temple, school teacher at Hempstead, was teaching one Indian to read his Testament;¹³⁹ the fol-

¹³⁴Letter from Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, December 5, 1746, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, February 20, 1746/47; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 14, p. 93.

¹³⁵Henry Barclay to [Secretary], [New York], November 2, 1746, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, February 20, 1746/47. The Mohawks could not be prevailed upon to join the English but kept up a secret correspondence with the French Indians.

¹³⁶George Clinton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 20, 1746, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 14, p. 91.

¹³⁷Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, July 18, 1747, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 15, fol. 93.

¹³⁸Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, April 16, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 16, No. 46. Mr. Oël started from Germany as minister to the Palatines, was ordained in London by Bishop Robinson, thus alienating many of his people. After the Palatine settlement in New York dispersed, he bought a small plantation at Conajohore, where he lived and administered Sacraments to the Indians.

¹³⁹Thomas Temple to Philip Bearcroft, Hempstead, December 14, 1741, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 10, No. 90.

lowing year one Indian boy learned to count up to ten, almost painful evidence of the difficulties encountered;¹⁴⁰ the Rev. Isaac Browne of Brookhaven said that some Indians came often to his Church,¹⁴¹ and, in September, 1743, he wrote, "I have Christened . . . an Indian Woman, after proper Instruction. She is a remarkable Instance of one reclaimed from a prophane. . . . Course, to a Life of Religion and Piety."¹⁴² Thomas Colgan, of Jamaica, had a few Indians in his parish, as did the Rev. Thomas Standard of Westchester.

In 1748, Barclay designated Mr. John Ogilvie¹⁴³ as a proper person to go among the Mohawks.¹⁴⁴ After spending some weeks in New York with Mr. Barclay, learning the Indian language, he took up his duties in March, 1750.¹⁴⁵ Mr. Ogilvie was received warmly by the principal inhabitants at the time of his arrival. Many Indians were away from home, so he did not visit the Mohawks until Easter week, where he ". . . was kindly received by Col. Johnson, a gentleman of the greatest influence and interest in these parts."¹⁴⁶ Sir William Johnson's interest in Mr. Ogilvie is an early example of his coöperation with the Anglican missionaries. From 1749, until his death in July, 1774, Sir William, Government Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America, pressed steadily for the Christianization and civilization of the Indians. Consequently, the history of the Mohawk and Albany missions from the time of Mr. Ogilvie's appointment up to the very eve of American Independence is necessarily intertwined with the career of Sir William. A detailed account of his coöperation with the missionaries, John Ogilvie (1749-62), J. J. Oël, assistant from 1750-1777, Thomas Brown (1760-1766), Harry Munro (1768-1775), and John Stuart (1770-1778) has been given recently;¹⁴⁷ therefore, only a brief summary is given here.

¹⁴⁰Thomas Temple to Philip Bearcroft, Hempstead, May 17, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 10, No. 91.

¹⁴¹Mr. Browne characterized the heathens as a "Miraculous compound of Paganism and Methodism." Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, March 25, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 11, No. 138.

¹⁴²Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, September 25, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 11, No. 140.

¹⁴³Mr. Ogilvie was a native of New York, educated at Yale, and in 1747 became lay-leader to Dr. Samuel Johnson, Rector of Stratford, Connecticut. In 1748, Mr. Ogilvie was ordained in London, in order to become a missionary for the S. P. G.

¹⁴⁴Henry Barclay to [Secretary], New York, November 7, 1748, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XI, February 17, 1748/49; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 16, No. 71.

¹⁴⁵John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, July 27, 1750, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XI, January 18, 1750/51; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 18, Nos. 102-103.

¹⁴⁶John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, July 27, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 18, Nos. 102-103.

¹⁴⁷For a detailed account of the co-operation between Sir William Johnson and The Society, see Frank J. Klingberg, "Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, (1749-1774)" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, March, 1939.

In June, 1750, Mr. Ogilvie again visited the Indians, and was met with congratulatory addresses from the principal Sachems; yet he found the Indians universally degenerated, and, since the war, entirely given up to drunkenness. The only hope was in the rising generation, and he asked the Society to send a schoolmaster,¹⁴⁸ preferably someone from Yale. In the meantime, he was instructing nearly twenty Indian children daily in reading and writing.

At the Upper Castle, the Indians were not so addicted to drink, which vice was decried by a pious Indian named Abraham. Abraham neglected his hunting in order to instruct his brothers in religion, and, while others were away he conducted Divine Service among the aged people and children. Many more such Indian teachers were needed, Mr. Ogilvie explained, to offset the wiles of the French priests to gain the Indian's affection.¹⁴⁹ To give a brief word of what was to follow after the mid century it may be said that the Society, in England, at this time intensified its interest in Indian education, as is shown by the Bishop of Carlisle's Sermon before the S. P. G. in 1752. He argued that the Indians were capable of instruction, and added, "Can we doubt then, but by proper Instruction, they are capable of making Improvements in every Branch of Knowledge; and that the Truth of the Christian Religion, when communicated to them, would be received by them?"¹⁵⁰ The Bishop agreed with all the foregoing missionaries to the Indians, that a worker among the natives should attain a competent knowledge of their language.

Many of the white men of New York, who could converse with the Indians, had a bad effect upon Indian morale. Mr. Ogilvie wrote to the Society,

The generality of the professors of Christianity who have any considerable dealings with the Indians by their conduct give the most convincing proof that they regard them only as mere *Machines* to promote their secular interest; and not their fellow creatures, rational and immortal agents, equally dear to the Father of Spirits, capable of the same improvement in virtue, and the purchase of the same precious blood; in short, *the salt of the Earth hath* (in these parts) *lost its savour*; and not one thing that I can mention as a circumstance of encouragement in this momentous undertaking I have made use of

¹⁴⁸Mr. Ogilvie mentioned an Independent Schoolmaster of New England, who for some time had been soliciting the Indians under his mission without his knowledge, and therefore would not consent to send to the teacher the Indians in his territory.

¹⁴⁹Mr. Ogilvie mentioned the fact that while he was visiting the Upper Castle, the Indians received a belt of money from a Popish priest of Codroghque (Fort Frontenac), inviting them to embrace the true religion and expressed concern at their being heretics. The Mohawks refused compliance.

¹⁵⁰Rich Osbaldeston (Bishop of Carlisle), Sermon preached before S. P. G. in St. Mary Le Bow, February 21, 1752, pp. 1-20. (Huntington Library.)

everything that had the least probability of being serviceable to the main end. I've only been as it were, rowing against stream, and have not been able to stem the Torrent by reason of the extravagant quantities of rum that is daily sold to these poor creatures.

It is impossible for me to express . . . the shocking effects of strong drink upon these people. They commit the most barbarous actions. . . .¹⁵¹

In other words, the consensus of opinion was that the best chance for success lay in the education of the young. Mr. Ogilvie, on Sir William's advice,¹⁵² recommended one Petrus Paulus as schoolmaster for the Indian children. Paulus was accordingly appointed by the Society with a salary of £7. 10 sterling per year.¹⁵³ This appointment was in line with the more aggressive instructions sent to America in 1756 while the fate of the continent hung in the balance. The part relating to the Indians admonished the missionaries,

That, as far as Circumstance render it practicable, you embrace every Opportunity of exerting your best Endeavours for the Conversion of the Indians to the Christian Faith, which good work is not only pious and Charitable in the more important Views of Religion, but highly beneficial likewise in a Civil View, as promoting the security and Interest of the American Colonies. An Advantage of which our Enemy's are by no means insensible or negligent; That for the more effectual Accomplishment of this good Work, You earnestly recommend an honest, human, and Friendly Treatment of these poor people. . . .¹⁵⁴

In short, then, as in later generations, the native was to be not merely a Christian but a "Warlike Christian Man," ready to fight for the white man's security. Indeed, Paulus was so diligent and successful as a schoolmaster, teaching above 40 children daily, that the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie thought a similar project should be started with the Indians of the Lower Castle, a plan agreed to by the Society.

Mr. Ogilvie's reports of baptisms and sacraments administered to Indians kept a steady pace. In addition to his work as missionary, he was an army chaplain as well. In the latter capacity, in February, 1760, he wrote an exceptionally interesting and important letter con-

¹⁵¹John Ogilvie to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, June 29, 1752, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 20, No. 55.

¹⁵²Sir William Johnson to [Secretary], New York, October 3, 1749, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 17, No. 117.

¹⁵³John Ogilvie to [Secretary], New York, July 19, 1753, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Dec. 21, 1753.

¹⁵⁴Instructions for the missionaries in America formulated by the Special Committee, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIII, March [11?], 1756.

cerning the French and Indian War to the Society. He accompanied the Royal American Regiment on the expedition to Niagara. The Mohawks were all in this service and almost all of the Six Nations, numbering 940 fighters at the time of the siege.¹⁵⁵ He officiated constantly for the Mohawks and Oneidas, choosing exhortations suitable to the emergency. The Oneidas met him near their Castle, and brought ten children to be baptized. During the campaign, he had an opportunity of conversing with some representative member of every one of the Six Nation Confederacy, and in every nation he found a few who had been instructed by the priests of Canada and appeared zealous Roman Catholics. From good authority, Mr. Ogilvie was informed,

. . . that there is not a Nation bordering upon the five great lakes, or the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi, all the way to Louisiana, but are supplied with priests and schoolmasters, and have very decent places of worship. . . . How ought we to blush at our coldness, and shameful indifferences in the propagation of our most excellent religion? The Harvest truly is great but the labourers few. The Indians themselves are not wanting in making very pertinent reflections upon our inattention to these points!

The possession of . . . Niagara . . . gives us a . . . opportunity of . . . cultivating a friendship with those numerous tribes . . . who inhabit the borders of *Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superiour*.¹⁵⁶

In May of the same year, 1760, Mr. Ogilvie lamented the fact that the leading men of the country did not countenance the conversion and education of the Indians with adequate zeal or application. He wrote they did nothing to oppose it, but he never ". . . met with any actual countenance in this service from any of them, excepting *Sir William Johnson*, who, I must do him justice to say, has been very much my patron and friend, which has been of no small consequence to me among the Indians."¹⁵⁷

As a crusader against the French, Mr. Ogilvie reported in this same letter that he was preparing again to march with the troops to Canada, and, as all the Mohawks were going, he would still be acting as their missionary. Proceeding to Oswego under General Amherst, Mr. Ogilvie tarried at Fort Hunter for three days, preached twice and baptized several white and Indian children, and at Oneida Town, on

¹⁵⁵John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, February 1, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 105.

¹⁵⁶John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, February 1, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 105.

¹⁵⁷John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, May 20, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 106.

July 18th, he also officiated and baptized six adult Indians,¹⁵⁸ fourteen children, and married nine couples.

In the absence of Mr. Ogilvie, the Rev. Thomas Brown was sent to Albany and the Mohawk Castle.¹⁵⁹ The Rev. Mr. Oël, assistant to Mr. Ogilvie, continued his labors, although he had reached the age of 72. He wrote to the Society, in November, 1761, that a school had been erected in the Upper Fort for the instruction of all who desired it; this gave the Indians an opportunity of being taught in their own language by one of their kinsman, who took great pleasure in teaching thirty youths reading and writing. However, as the teacher was receiving no compensation, Mr. Oël felt that this good work would have to be discontinued.¹⁶⁰ Mr. Brown, although he began to officiate in 1760, was not appointed missionary until Mr. Ogilvie had been given the position of chaplain to one battalion and made deputy to several others,¹⁶¹ and consequently was unable to attend to his congregation at Albany, or to serve the Mohawk Indians. The Rev. Mr. Brown's first reception was favorable, but soon his congregation was in dissension, ". . . arising from the deep laid schemes of the Presbyterian minister and others to destroy the good harmony. . . ."¹⁶² Therefore Mr. Brown felt it best to resign, because, he said, "I must acknowledge that I think my residence in this place will by no means answer the Society's good intentions."¹⁶³ The year of Mr. Brown's resignation, 1767, Sir William Johnson was made a member of the Society, and he was asked by its members to suggest schemes of Indian conversion. Sir William replied suggesting a mission to the Lower Mohawk Castle, urging that the missionary reside constantly among the Indians, and not have the care of the Albany congregation, as formerly. In December, 1767, the S. P. G. granted £150 for the establishment of a school for Indian

¹⁵⁸These were three men and three women, whom he afterwards married. They had lived together many years as man and wife according to the Indian custom.

¹⁵⁹Thomas Brown to Philip Bearcroft, New York, November 15, 1761, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 103. Rev. Mr. Brown asked for a small gratuity for his services. The S. P. G. allowed Mr. Barclay to draw for him.

¹⁶⁰The Indian, in addition to teaching, had to engage in another occupation to support his family. See two letters written in Latin from Mr. Oël to the Society, one dated November 1, 1761, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XV, March 19, 1762, and the other July 1, 1762, in *ibid.*, December 17, 1762.

¹⁶¹Petition from congregation of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York, May 5, 1764, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 110.

¹⁶²Thomas Brown to Daniel Burton, Albany, July 2, 1766, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 114, see also S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 113. The Controversy started when Mr. Ogilvie, returning to Albany, refused to give Mr. Brown the books belonging to the mission, because the latter did not have his papers under the seal of the S. P. G. Therefore many people believed that the Society disapproved of him.

¹⁶³Thomas Brown to Daniel Burton, Albany, New York, March 24, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 115.

boys on the Mohawk river. This was to be under the supervision of Sir William Johnson.

In 1767, the vacancy in the Albany mission was filled by the Rev. Harry Munro of Phillipsburgh.¹⁶⁴ Mr. Munro wrote the following favorable account of his work in January 1770,

Baptized during the last half year, sixty eight . . . one Indian adult. . . . In September last I preached at Sir William Johnson's; baptized six, and married one couple. I am now again just returned from visiting Sir William and the Indians at Fort Hunter, where I preached last Sunday, and administered the Sacrament; and am now preparing for another journey to Conojoharee, the Upper Castle, being seventy miles from Albany, there to preach and administer the Sacrament . . . at the request of some old Indians who are communicants, and could not attend at Lower Castle.

Besides these journeys in October last, I made an excursion into the woods, to the eastward of Albany, and visited the new settlements of Langsburg, St. Choack, Shaftsbury, Arlington, Cambden, White Creek, Saratoga, and Stillwater, being a journey of one hundred miles and upwards.¹⁶⁵

In 1770, Rev. John Stuart, after endorsement by Sir William, was appointed to the Mohawk mission at Fort Hunter. Sir William helped him in every way, had the chapel floor renewed, and provided Mr. Stuart with a new pulpit, reading desk, communion table, windows and a bell.¹⁶⁶

Sir William did not confine his interest to the work of the Albany mission, but he collaborated with the Rev. Charles Inglis, then assistant in Trinity Church, in working out a scheme for Indian conversion, which did not gain the support of the home government because of more pressing problems.¹⁶⁷ He encouraged the growth of Johnstown close by his own residence of Johnson Hall. A school and church were built

¹⁶⁴*Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Peter's Parish to John Ogilvie, Albany, February 22, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Trans.). B 3, No. 119; another to Harry Munro, February 22, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 118; and one to Daniel Burton, July 11, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 120.*

¹⁶⁵*Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, January 5, 1770, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 270. For interesting glimpses of the religious life on the frontier, and for the obstacles common to all colonial churches, see a recent study by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The Founding of American Civilization, pp. 89-92. (Scribner's, 1938.)*

¹⁶⁶*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 98. Stuart said that Johnson did everything to render his life agreeable, and his ministry useful.*

¹⁶⁷*Charles Inglis was at this time, 1770, assistant to Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York, and later was consecrated the First Colonial Bishop. For the career of Rev. Mr. Inglis see John Wolfe Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, His Ministry in America and Consecration as First Colonial Bishop, from 1759-1789; New York; Macmillan, 1936. Reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in American Historical Review, 42; 558-59, April, 1937.*

in the village and Johnson asked the Society for a clergyman to officiate;¹⁶⁸ at Conojahare he erected the historic chapel for the Mohawks and hired a teacher out of his own funds for the Indians. He engaged in similar noteworthy projects, up to the time of his death on July 11, 1774, which event together with the reverberations of the Revolution close the foregoing brief word of epilogue to the story of the first half century of varied experiment.

Two centuries ago, the missionary sent these first hand, contemporary reports from Upper Castle, Lower Castle, Albany, and elsewhere to London. From these outposts in America during the first half of the eighteenth century, the S. P. G. agents reached the Indian on his own ground, when he was still possessed of his lands and of his tribal organization. Such field reports as these illuminating letters yield facts of social history before tribal life and customs had melted away and before the Iroquois had been ground to pieces by the Anglo-French and Anglo-American conflicts. The startling phrases, "the Mohawks are all going along" (to Canada), and, "the Indians are abroad," or are firing a shot to welcome the missionary after long absence, seize the imagination and sweep the reader along on campaigns of military conquest and on far flung journeys in quest of food. In one capacity, the Indians accompany the troops as invisible advance scouts, independent of compass, or "communications," or a base of supplies, masters of the forests and of distances; while in the other view of their activities, these realistic reports show them as hungry and victims of great hardships when the hunting was poor, and the weather severe. Curious about the white man's God, courteous in their welcome to the itinerant clergymen, they were, nevertheless, if drunken after contact with traders, sullen, dangerous, and unwilling to listen to missionaries and teachers.

Missionary opinion in comparing the Indian with the Negro, early perceived, perhaps without realizing the full import of the matter, that the latter in his industry, his willingness to work, and in his energy, shared in the white man's enterprise and yet appreciably remained himself. His special racial philosophy and his imaginative gifts were to remain his own, while he adapted himself to the white man's world, shared his objectives, aims, and valuations. Lord Hailey, in the recent monumental survey of Africa, finds that the present African folks are in mind and character not unlike other peoples, and clears away much of unfounded legend myth and mistaken reports about the Negro race.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸Samuel Seabury, the Society's missionary at East and West Chester and later the first American Episcopal bishop, was considered, but Seabury finally declined because of the insecurity of the mission after Johnson's death, and because of an insufficient salary offered to him.

¹⁶⁹Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, Oxford University Press, 1938.

The firm conviction of Mr. Neau and others that the white man's effort in running "up in the woods after miserable creatures [Indians]" was a lost cause, and that the black and white settlers should be the chief objective, and similar opinions from early Society missionaries elsewhere, show that it was clear to these pioneers from the beginning that the destiny of the Indian was as alien from that of the white man as that of the Negro was identified with it. The Indian herein pictured, as dwindling in numbers from no visible cause, suspicious, alien, fleeing into the woods, frightened by rumors of wars, was to the fact-hunting missionary, both Noble *and* Savage. The observations of these educated men contributed to the cult of natural happiness but also checked the growth of the wholly idealized primitive man of Rousseau and other eighteenth century critics of the ills of civilization. The question, then as now, was, did the American Indian, North of Mexico, while in touch with white races, have sufficient inner motive power and strength to maintain and develop an independent civilization? Early in the eighteenth century the negative answer was being formulated for the Anglo-Saxon world. The North American Indians, even the sturdy Iroquois, as is well known, were too few in number, too different in culture, to resist the on-rushing multiple attack of imperial agents, sharp traders, and land hungry settlers. The devoted missionaries reported but could not prevent the catastrophe. Strategically located for purposes of tribal destruction, the Iroquois benefited from the humanitarian mitigation of the missionaries, but with weight of the other forces against them, even though a viceroy of the strength of Sir William Johnson was on their side, the Indians' fate was sealed. Strong as "the cult of the noble savage" might be in Great Britain, it did not dominate the mood of frontier society. Nevertheless, what has been called the final and Attic tragedy of the North American Indian is here revealed in miniature by the S. P. G. missionary in the first half of the eighteenth century when the Red Man came into a many sided contact with the swarming visitors upon his continent.

In conclusion, attention may be called to what is obvious throughout this study, that the S. P. G. missionaries and teachers were keeping the home front in touch with the far flung frontiers and were inevitably strengthening British humanitarian sentiments in their early stages, a subject reserved for later detailed analysis.

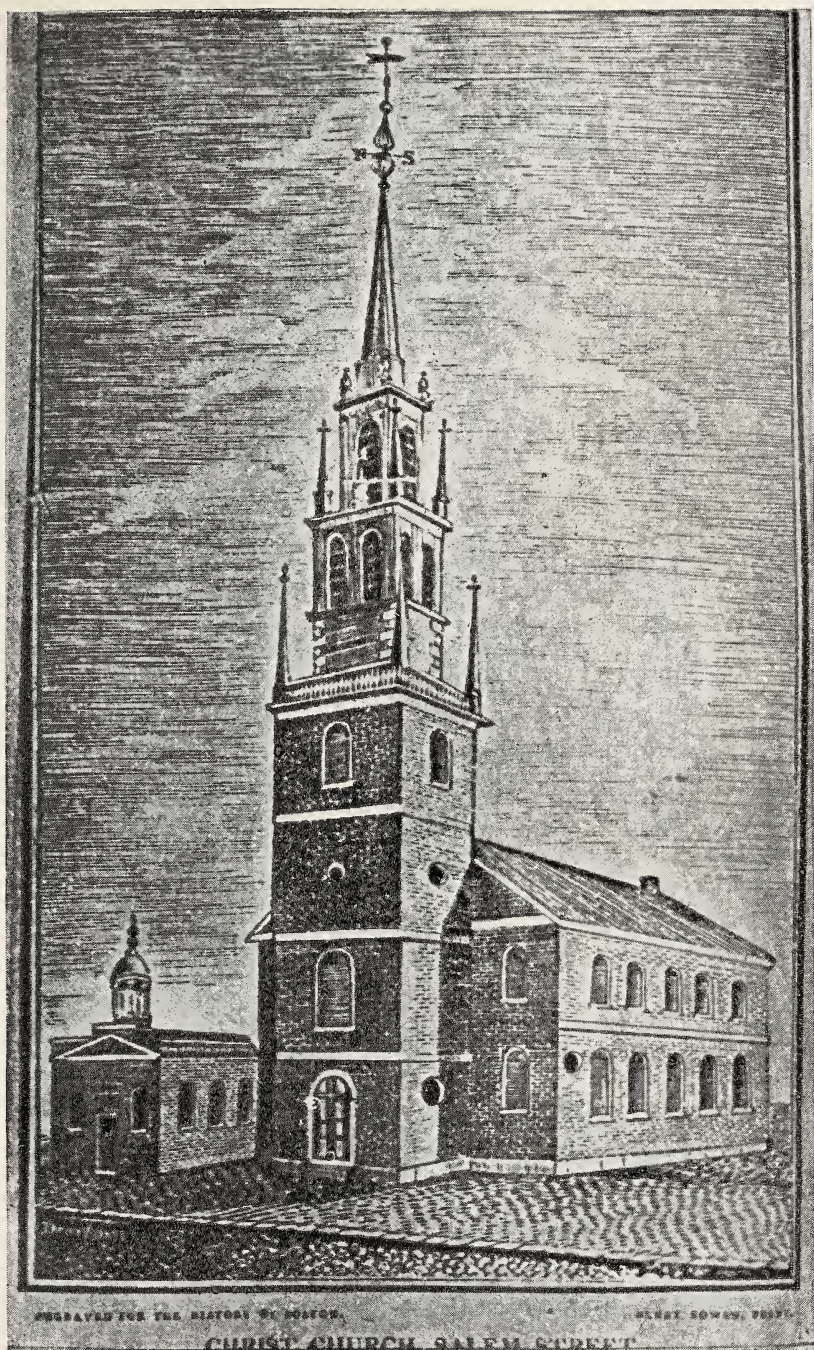
OLD CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON

By Mary Kent Davey Babcock

READERS of Church papers who have followed recent articles on slum clearance around churches, will surely be interested in a like project which has been quietly going on for some years in Boston's North End. In a ward in the oldest part of the city, where the population has reached as high as 30,000, making it one of the world's most congested city areas, stands one of the historic churches of our Communion—Christ Church, Salem Street, the "Old North Church of Paul Revere Fame." Here in 1723 was erected a fine brick church of the purest Christopher Wren type and to it was called as Rector, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, late President of Yale College, who had been "excused" from further service when he had announced his intention to seek Episcopal ordination.

A group of Boston churchmen having raised a fund to send him and Daniel Brown, his assistant, (the entire Yale faculty), with Samuel Johnson, another Connecticut dissenting minister, to England for ordination at the hands of an English bishop, now invited Mr. Cutler to become the rector of a church to be built, the second Episcopal church in Boston. His mission accomplished, Dr. Cutler arrived in Boston in September, 1723, with doctor's degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge and his license as missionary of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. On December 29, 1723, he preached his first sermon in the new church, for which the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of the King's Chapel, had laid the first stone in the preceding April. His text, "My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all people," has been more than fulfilled, for to Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston, come every year more than fifty thousand people from every state in the Union. Moreover, every Sunday morning this church, still with no "parochial bounds", dispenses the word of God according to the Prayer Book as it was begun over two centuries ago.

King George II gave the Communion Silver, still in use, a Prayer Book and "Vinegar" Bible, and the S. P. G. a Parochial Library. In 1736 the parish installed an organ, the second church organ in Boston; four years later a towering wooden spire on the brick steeple; and in 1744 a peal of eight bells, the "first cast for His Majesty's empire in North America". Not only was the spire a landmark for incoming



CHRIST CHURCH
Boston

(From an old engraving)

vessels, but on April 18, 1775 it served as a signal post where Robert Newman, the sexton, hung the lanterns which sent Paul Revere on his history-making ride "to every Middlesex village and farm."

Built in an almost rural community quite cut off by the sea from Boston proper, in the midst of a homogeneous population mostly of English stock, the parish grew and prospered, adding, as the years rolled by, to its historic associations, while still remaining a parish Church.

Here in 1813 was set up a marble bust of George Washington, the first public memorial to the Father of his Country; here the rector, the Rev. Asa Eaton, in June 1815 established the first Sunday School in these parts, which became under a gifted layman, Joseph Wentworth Ingraham, a model imitated far and wide. Always a populous quarter, the North End of Boston nevertheless remained even far into the 19th century, the veritable *rus in urbe* which gave such repose of soul to its rector, the Rev. William Crosswell, who here was ordained to the priesthood he so eminently adorned.

But with the building of Saint Paul's in 1820, there began a slow drift of population to more fashionable parts of the city, and by 1850 a swarm of Irish immigrants had almost crowded out the Americans from the fine old houses with their pretty gardens on the tree-shaded streets, later turning it into a veritable slum. Then the Irish becoming prosperous, receded before an influx of Russian Jews, quiet, orderly and pious. As a social worker entering Salem Street on late Friday afternoons in 1900, I felt as if I had dropped back into a New England village Saturday evening, when the spinning wheels stilled and the day's chores done, the family awaited the day of rest which began on Saturday at sunset. Glimpses of white-aproned women, sometimes in the act of saying the *licht bensen* over the Sabbath candle or serving the bearded and hatted men seated at the evening meal, caught my eye as I walked up this Street of Peace, where the silence was broken only by the echoing footsteps of passers-by.

Little things are clues. I began to meet dark-eyed, dark-skinned women wearing crosses as pendants. What did it mean? Just this. They were the first ripples of the incoming wave of Italian immigrants who surged into the port of Boston, up to the Great War, until the North End became a Little Italy, vivid with color, animated by flashing smiles and gestures, the streets swarming with Raphaelesque *bambini* crowded around pushcarts gay with multi-colored vegetables and fruits.

Congestion and sanitary conditions grew worse and worse. One by one Christ Church lost its old parishioners, obliged to retreat before the invading foreigners. The houses surrounding it, by now grimy

hives of swarming laborers, seemed to crowd around it as if to choke its very life, some so near that an outstretched hand could reach from window sill to window sill. By 1912 the ward had become almost entirely Roman Catholic, its churches and parochial schools caring for thousands of children. At this juncture Bishop Lawrence, through a fund raised by him among patriotic citizens, cleaned up the area owned by the church, restored the buildings, church, rectory and sexton's house, to their original lines, he himself becoming Rector of Christ Church. The first wedge in slum clearance in Boston's North End had been driven!

Bishop Lawrence's rectorate was succeeded by that of the Rev. Dr. William Herbert Dewart. He took on a curate for the Italian work in the hope of unearthing possible Waldensians and soon an Italian chapel was built by the late William H. Lincoln and his wife next to the old church, where it continues to flourish. Very early in his rectorate Dr. Dewart dreamed of cutting away the underbrush of tenement houses which surrounded the church, plans were enthusiastically discussed, but the whole project was swallowed up in the national problems arising from the Great War.

When the Rev. Francis E. Webster became Rector in 1930 he settled in the rectory and the slum clearance project was revived. One old house was bought by the proprietors (pew-owners) and torn down as a fire menace. Then the City of Boston, through the George Robert White Fund undertook a clearance by razing a number of old houses back of the church, opening to view the Bulfinch front of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church (once the New North, Congregational) and the east end of Christ Church across the Prado, a park being laid out on the land thus cleared.

Now the Lantern League, Inc., a non-denominational, nation-wide organization has stepped in and so far, by purchase and demolition, has removed five out of the thirteen encroaching tenements which menace Christ Church as a fire hazard and obstruct light and air to the church and surrounding dwellings. The League's primary object is to protect the church, so that it may be not only preserved to posterity as an historic shrine, but also to make possible a continuance of the religious services according to the rites and ceremonies specified in the deed of 1722 to the land on which it stands.

It has repaired and restored every part of the building, lighted by electricity the famous spire, put in an oil heater and established a sprinkler system to the top of the 175 foot spire through the co-operation of the city authorities who extended the high pressure water main to the very door of the Church. It has added to the beauty of the im-

mediate surroundings on the north side by a sunny, spacious Memorial Close, where tablets commemorating historic events are set in the walls.

Although more than 55,000 visitors yearly register here to refresh their patriotism at this national shrine in a quarter where there is not a single Protestant family, many come to worship where every Sunday the word of God is dispensed in this House of Prayer for all People.

In January of this year at the annual meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church, a further protective measure was taken to insure and safeguard the history and traditions of this venerable parish. By a change in the constitution and by-laws the Bishop of Massachusetts becomes Rector of the parish, thus following the tradition established by Bishop Lawrence at the restoration in 1912. With the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Bishop of Massachusetts, as Rector, the Rev. Francis E. Webster, rector since 1930, as Vicar, and the continued co-operation and support of the Lantern League, the work of slum clearance will go steadily on until Christ Church shall stand out as in its youth, an ensign on a hill which cannot be hid, and the homes surrounding it shall be forever kept open to light and sun and air, the heritage of all God's children.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY—TRACTS ON THE LITURGY

By Thomas M. Spaulding

THE library of Washington Cathedral has recently received a small collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphlets whose existence and location should be made known to scholars, especially those concerned with church history and liturgics. These pamphlets, grouped under the title, *Tracts on the Liturgy*, were formerly in the library of Alexander Beresford-Hope, who will probably be best remembered in history for his purchase of the ruins of St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury and foundation of a missionary college on the site. The name given to the collection is somewhat too narrow. Some are purely liturgical; others would be better described as doctrinal; and some have considerable historical interest. A partial and perfunctory check with the union catalogue in Washington fails to locate any copy in this country, in some cases, and in some others only a single copy is recorded, commonly in the McAlpin collection in the Union Theological Seminary. Three of the titles beginning with A or B are not in the new British Museum Catalogue, which as yet has progressed only through those two letters. So a considerable proportion of them may reasonably be classed as rare. Their value is another question. That is a matter for research workers to determine, and they can do so only when informed of their location.

There are about eighty separate titles in the lot, along with a few duplicates. Most were printed in London, a few at Oxford, and one at Coventry. The dates range from 1640 to 1781, nearly all being prior to 1745. Up to that date there are only a few large gaps in which no items appear, but there is considerable concentration around certain important periods: the restoration, the revolution, and the years 1718 to 1720, when it seems there was a great agitation concerning the forms of the prayer book and the doctrinal implications of those forms. No less than twenty-five items bear dates falling in this last-mentioned group. Some of these run in series that remind one of the old pleadings at common law, with plea, replication, rejoinder and so on. There are pamphlets entitled *Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers; No Sufficient Reason for Restoring; Vindication of the Reasons; Reply to the Vindication; Answer to a Reply to the Vindication*. It does not appear whether or not the *Answer* was the triumphant conclusion of the debate.

These tracts have received only the slightest examination, generally not going much beyond the title page. Among those whose titles suggest some possible value for English history other than strictly religious, are: *Declaration of the Faith and Order in the Congregational Churches*, 1659; *True and Perfect Copy of the Whole Disputation at the Savoy*, 1662; *Brief Account of the new Sect of Latitude-men*, 1662; *Whether a Nonconformist, who hath not taken the Oxford Oath, may come to live at London*, 1669; *Reflections upon a Form of Prayer Lately set forth for the Jacobites*, 1690; *The Church of England's Complaint against the Irregularities of some of its Clergy*, 1709.

The collection has not yet been catalogued, and for the present at least no items can be sent out on inter-library loan, but all are available for examination at the library by competent persons.

CHARLES FREDERICK MAMPOTENG

MASTER OF ARTS

CANDIDATE FOR HOLY ORDERS

March 31, 1908 - April 22, 1939

A valued contributor to *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, he was a diligent and careful student of the history of the American Church and excelled in historical research. His loss is grievous, his place difficult to fill.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Grace Episcopal Church, Hartford, Connecticut, 1863-1898, by Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D. Pp. 56.

This admirable little history is issued to mark the Seventieth anniversary of the consecration of Grace Church which began as a Mission of Trinity Church, Hartford, having its origin in the establishment of a Sunday School. In interesting fashion Dr. Burr traces the development of the enterprise until it became an independent parish in 1912. There are some excellent pictures and valuable maps. This booklet—if it may be so called—is an illustration of what may be done in many parishes for the preservation of their history, and such histories are invaluable in compiling a history of the American Church at large.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman, by Everard M. Upjohn, Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Columbia University. Columbia University Press, New York. 1939. Pp. 245.

Within a stone's throw of where this review is written lies the grave of Richard Upjohn, the eminent architect and devoted churchman. He lies under the shadow of the lovely Highland church which he designed and where in his later years he worshipped. Considering the commanding position he attained in his early manhood it is a remarkable fact that he had no technical training in architecture. The nearest approach was his apprenticeship to Richard Downs of Shaftesbury, England, to be taught the trade of a joiner and cabinet maker during which time his maximum earnings amounted to seventy-five cents a week plus his board and lodging. In 1828 he emigrated to the United States and records the fact in a letter to his son that "we walked up Broadway, your mother with pattens on her feet and a baby in her arms". His destination was Manlius, New York, where he arrived with "3 silver dollars" in his pocket. At New Bedford he worked as a draftsman for one dollar a day. There in 1833 he advertised

"Architectural Plans and Elevations,
Neatly Executed at Short Notice, By
Richard Upjohn.

Thus began his career as an architect. The next five years were spent in Boston, where he came in contact with the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, rector of Trinity Church. His first real commission to design a church was that of St. John's, Bangor, Maine, which had more than a suggestion of Gothic. In 1838 the roof of the second Trinity Church, of which Dr. Wainwright had become rector, was discovered to be in a dangerous condition, and in 1839 Upjohn writes in a letter: "March 29—was sent for by persons from this city in regard to certain repairs then about to be made on the former Trinity Church edifice." Though perhaps not apparent at the time, that was the turning point in his career. It being determined to build a new church, the commission was given to Upjohn. It resulted in what Dr. Kenneth Conant, President of Harvard, calls in his introduction to this volume, "perhaps the earliest, and certainly one of the most satis-

factory, examples of the strict Gothic Revival in America". It had a far-reaching influence and revolutionized ecclesiastical architecture in this country. From first to last Richard Upjohn was a churchman, and his churchmanship influenced his architectural work. In a day when shallow chancels were dominant, he realized that deep chancels were essential to a high church service, and he fought long and hard for an unusually deep chancel for the new Trinity Church. It was likewise due to his persistence that the spire was topped with a cross instead of a weather-vane, which some members of the Vestry desired. When he was commissioned to draw plans for a Unitarian church in Boston, he replied, "that after having anxiously and prayerfully considered the matter, he had come to the conclusion that he could not conscientiously furnish a plan for a Unitarian Church, he being an Episcopalian". This volume is more than a biography; it is a valuable compendium of the development of ecclesiastical architecture in America in the nineteenth century. Its style is admirable and it is enriched with more than a hundred photographs of Upjohn's work.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

A Description of the Manuscript Collections in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library. Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, Boston. 1939. 81 mimeographed pages of which 17 comprise the Index.

The Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A. was set up in January, 1936, with emphasis being first placed upon the survey of public records. Late in 1937 the survey of manuscripts and private papers was undertaken. If this volume is a fair sample of the fruits of the Historical Records Survey, then the whole project is a distinctly constructive contribution to American history and scholarship.

The *Description* covers more than 20,000 letters, documents, diaries, church records, and other material of the Massachusetts Diocesan Library. "A student of history will find in these manuscripts not only the story of the growth of the Episcopal Church from its beginnings in Massachusetts in 1688 up to the present time, but also reflection of the issues, controversies, and opinions of the day."

The listing was made primarily by Mrs. Edith Richards. The editing, compiling, and indexing was done by Ethel L. Wood, Cora F. Holbrook, and other members of the staff under the direction of Kelsey Ballou Sweatt, assistant state director, with the cooperation of project officials in Washington, particularly Mrs. Margaret S. Eliot, editor-in-chief of manuscript inventories.

Following the preface which contains a succinct outline of the history of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts by Carl J. Wennerblad, state director, a brief history of the library itself by Ann Maria Mitchell is given. Our readers are referred to Miss Mitchell's fuller account of the library's history in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VII. (Sept., 1938) pp. 277-286.

The volume is divided into the following main divisions:

1. Papers of bishops of Massachusetts—Bass, Parker, Griswold, Eastburn, Paddock, Brooks, Lawrence, Slattery, and Sherrill.
2. Papers of Abraham Jarvis, bishop of Connecticut.
3. Archives of the diocese of Massachusetts and its various officers, boards, and institutions, including valuable minutes of early conventions.

4. Papers of Boston Episcopal churches.
5. Papers and data of churches in Massachusetts and in other states—Connecticut, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont.
6. Miscellaneous personal papers.
7. Index.

The Bass, Parker, Griswold, and Abraham Jarvis papers appear to be of special importance in that they cover the most critical years of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts and America. The Jarvis papers contain minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy for 1774, 1776, and 1789, which have never (so far as we know) been published.

Among the miscellaneous personal papers the following appear particularly rich:

William Clark papers, 1765-1815, 3 vols., 75 pieces.

William Fobes Gavet papers, 4 vols., 1000 pieces, covering the years 1733-1908.

Edmund F. Slafter papers, 4 vols., 812 pieces, covering the years 1740-1902.

The Massachusetts Diocesan Library is a model for diocesan libraries of the Episcopal Church. This *Description* of its manuscript collections, in addition to being an indispensable aid to research students, is a well deserved recognition of this library's importance.

—WALTER HERBERT STOWE

Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations, Washington. The Historical Records Survey of the District of Columbia. W. P. A. 1939.

In 1936 the Historical Records Survey was instituted as a branch of the Works Progress Administration. It has done valuable work, notably in Massachusetts, that report being reviewed in this number of the Magazine. The survey of the churches and religious organizations in the District of Columbia is good as far as it goes. But it is limited to listing the various churches and ministers and their organizations, including the Federation of Churches, with its officers and delegates making up its constituency, and it indexes the clergy and laity mentioned in the text. As a Directory, it is excellent, but there its usefulness ends. It is hoped that the work will be continued so as to include at least an outline of the history of these churches, and some indication of their archives.

All in the Day's Work. An Autobiography, by Ida M. Tarbell. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. 407.

"The Day's Work" for Miss Tarbell has covered eighty-two years, and judging from this fascinating account, full of human interest and amazing variety. She has played many parts—one of the first women to go to college in America, where she was a lonely freshman in a class of forty hostile boys; a teacher in an Academy at \$500 a year "and board yourself"; a contributor to *The Chautaukan*; a free lance journalist in Paris, waging a gallant fight against poverty till *Scribner's Magazine* accepted a short story. The

turning point in her career was the printing of an article by the McClure Syndicate, which led to a twenty year editorial connection with McClure's Magazine, for which she wrote sketches of such men as Pasteur. Returning to America she wrote a biography of Napoleon and a two volume life of Abraham Lincoln. Her early childhood in the newly discovered oil fields of Pennsylvania laid the broad foundation for her celebrated work on the Standard Oil Company, over which she labored for five long years. And so the story of this varied life runs, a story full of charm. The last chapter is significant, for there she indulges in a discriminating reflection of the past as she has known it, and the future as she sees it. In spite of the fact that she once feared "that we were raising our standard of living at the expense of our standard of character", at eighty-two she is an incurable optimist. The book closes with these words:

"Once more I am curious. It is an armchair curiosity—no longer can I go out and see for myself; but that has its advantages. It compels longer reflection, intensifies the conviction that taking time, having patience, doing one thing at a time are the essentials for solid improvement, for finding answers. Perhaps, I tell myself, I may from an armchair find better answers than I have yet found to those questions which set me at my day's work, the still unanswered questions of the most fruitful life for women in civilization, the true nature of revolutions, even the mystery of God. It is the last of the three which disturbs me least. The greatest of mysteries, it has become for me the greatest of realities."

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH'S CONSTITUTION"

*Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the
Adoption of the Church's Constitution
in 1789*

COLONIAL CLERGY CONVENTIONS

By Edgar Legare Pennington

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EARLY in the history of the American Church, there were gatherings of the clergy held from time to time. While they were infrequent and irregular, even towards the end of the colonial period, they no doubt wielded a considerable influence and promoted a spirit of solidarity among those who participated in them. Besides, they afforded a certain experience in united endeavour which proved invaluable in those subsequent times when the Episcopal Church must rely on its own resources and face the problems of organisation and continuance without assistance from either the state or the British missionary societies. Spasmodic and informal as many of those convocations probably were, they brought the ministers together; they gave opportunity for conference, for discussion, and for the exchange of ideas; they impressed those present with the sense of common purpose and responsibility; and, lastly, they convinced the Anglican clergymen that in such gatherings there was strength. Prior to the War of the Revolution, the Church was established in some of the colonies and the support of the clergy was to some extent controlled by statute; in the other colonies, clerical stipends were in part subsidised by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The missionaries of the Venerable Society rendered accounts of their parochial acts twice a year; it was to the S. P. G. that they were primarily responsible. So long as they proved faithful and trustworthy, the Society protected them in their living. Furthermore, the Society supported schoolmasters in the colonies, shipped thousands and thousands of books and tracts, and responded in other ways to the needs of the struggling churches. With the independence of the new world, this help was withdrawn, while in Virginia, where the Church was under government patronage, the glebe lands were confiscated and all tax levies for religious purposes discontinued. The Church, therefore, must work out its own destiny; it must meet the difficulties or suffer defeat. Faith, courage, and industry were not lacking; the story of the Church of

**(To GEORGE AARON BARTON, scholar, teacher, and prophet, this brochure is dedicated as a token of the author's esteem and affection, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, 12th November, 1939.)*

the closing years of the Eighteenth Century is one of heroic enterprise and valiant effort. Yet in the organisation, the establishment, and the extension of the Church, clergy and laity turned to gatherings for consultation and legislation, and found them of tremendous value. The triennial General Conventions of the Church as a whole and the annual conventions, councils, and convocations of the various dioceses and missionary districts have long been accepted factors in the American ecclesiastical polity; none the less, we look for their origin in the convocations of colonial days.

I. VIRGINIA CONVENTIONS

Commissary James Blair called a convocation of the Virginia clergy at Jamestown in 1690. His commission from the Lord Bishop of London had been read by order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council; and the Council had returned to the Bishop "the humble thanks of this Board, for his pious Care in this affaire, and the reposeing the trust in one soe well deserveing thereof as the said Mr Blair is." Stories of loose living and general demoralisation had reached Doctor Blair's ears; he realised that the churches were widely scattered, and that many of the inhabitants of Virginia were not in close touch with spiritual influences. Hence the convocation was called in order to devise machinery for enforcing the Church laws. Steps were to be taken against "all Cursors, Swearers, and blasphemers, . . . all drunkards, ranters, and prophaners of the Lords day and all Contemners of the sacraments, and against all other Scandalous persons, whether of the Clergy or Laity." To carry this out, Doctor Blair divided the province into four precincts; in each, a minister was appointed to act as the Commissary's deputy. He was to be the guardian of the morals of his precinct; and it was also his duty to summon the clergy under him twice a year, to sit in judgment upon the "Scandals and enormities committed within their jurisdiction." Blair also urged the clergy to take the initiative in the establishment of a college. "Although there were other prominent men in the colony, who supported the project of a college, the chief burden of its promotion fell upon Blair. He well deserves, therefore, the title of founder of the College of William and Mary."¹

It soon became evident that the people would not tolerate ecclesiastical discipline. Ministers did not dare bring charges against members of their congregations; in fact, they were often so completely under

¹E. G. Swem's article on James Blair, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, II., 335; *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, I., 116.

the spell of their vestries that they would not preach against their vices.

In 1696, the Virginia Assembly, under pressure from England, increased the stipend of the clergy to 16,000 pounds of tobacco; this amount was to be paid to each minister. The ministers, however, were cumbered with unfavourable conditions in collecting and receiving their bulky stipends; besides, they found that unfair advantage was often taken of them. For instance, when the tobacco brought a high price, the clergy were compelled to accept payment in money instead of the commodity; the sum was estimated at a figure far below the current market. Furthermore, some of the ministers were not furnished with the parsonages and glebes, to which they were legally entitled; and even when there was technical compliance with the law, the glebes were inferior.

In June of that year, a convocation of the clergy protested to the Governor that the Burgesses, who had declared that they were doing well enough, had misrepresented their condition; they avowed that their state was deplorable. In their petition (June 25th), they referred to the King's gracious letters, aimed at settling their salary in money or tobacco at the current price, but they said that the House, instead of remedying the evil, made it appear that the clergy needed no redress and were well contented. They had been forced to receive tobacco at twelve shilling a hundred. "No other persons . . . obliged to take Tob^o at so high a rate. . . ." They received no perquisites except for marriages and a few funeral sermons—not more than five pounds a year. "Our Glebes which are so ornamentally described"—indeed many parishes possess no glebes. The ministers are frequently destitute of houses and orchards. "Wee hold these mean liveings so precariously that (not being inducted) Wee are at all times liable to be turn'd out of them, at the Vestry's pleasure without any Canonick Objections, either alledged or proved against us."

The Burgesses were infuriated at the protest, and pronounced the paper "a most malicious Scandalous and unjust" reflection upon them. Still the salaries of the clergy remained so inadequate as to offer little inducement for the better clergy to come over.²

During the controversy between Commissary Blair and Governor Francis Nicholson, twenty clergymen met at Williamsburg (August 25th, 1703). They joined in a petition upholding the Governor and opposing Doctor Blair; this they forwarded to the Bishop of London. They stated that they were pleased that the Queen had continued

²*Bancroft Transcript, English Colonies in America, in New York Public Library, I., 213-219.*

Nicholson in office. "His Excellency prefers the glory of God the Interest of the Church and the Publick good of the Colony before his owne private interest or advantage." Blair's behaviour toward the Queen's representative had brought contempt upon the clergy and had made members of the Church of England uneasy, they said; the Commissary had been disrespectful of the Governor. They also took occasion to complain of their precarious state, through the bad usage they had received from the vestries. Blair had sided with the vestries, against the opinion of the Governor.³

The clergy continued to hold their meetings. The accession of King George I called forth a message of greeting from them; so did the promotion of Doctor Edmund Gibson to the See of London. On the 7th of December, 1714, Governor Spotswood of Virginia reported to the Council that he had received an address from the clergy, which he read. In it, they acknowledged the many obligations which he had laid upon them ever since they had had the happiness of being under his government.

"We have all of us quietly enjoyed our livings without being removed or disturbed as in some former times at the pleasure of Vestrys, & that those livings which by the badness of the pay were sunk to little or nothing, begin now to be much more valuable, by your wise & just contrivance to keep up the Credit of the publick payments. . . ."⁴

These happy relations between the clergy and Governor Spotswood did not always prevail. On the 6th of August, 1718, Bishop Gibson wrote a letter to Commissary Blair, enclosing a communication to the clergy. He stated that he had requested the Governor to give him all assistance; and he should be glad to hear from the Commissary if there were any vacant churches, so that he might use his best endeavours to procure supply clergymen. To the clergy, the Bishop wrote that he had heard of some irregularities on their part; in fact, some had evidently been officiating in the colony who did not have episcopal ordination. He expected "a regular conformity to the liturgy from which none of us can depart without violating the solemn promise we made at our ordination."

A convocation of the clergy was opened at Williamsburg, April 8th, 1719. Doctor Blair called the roll, and proceeded to read the communications from the Bishop of London. The Commissary preached

³MS. Rawlinson C., 933, fol. 40 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

⁴*Executive Journals, Council of Colonial Virginia, III.*, 388-389.

a sermon, in which he declared that the Governor did not fail to institute and induct the ministers into parishes when presentations were made; "but for want of these the clergy of this country have been upon a very precarious footing." Governor Spotswood was displeased at this criticism; and replied with an attack upon Doctor Blair. The Governor construed Bishop Gibson's letter as giving him the right of institution and induction; Doctor Blair contended that the ministers were undergoing hardships, because the vestries "are such enemies to induction that they will give no presentations, and our Governors have been so unwilling to disoblige the parishes that they have never taken the benefit of the lapse, so that the ministers generally officiate upon the election of the vestry, without presentation or induction." The clergy drew up a letter to the Bishop, charging that Commissary Blair had not been episcopally ordained. Services were infrequent, they said, and neglected; laymen were performing the duties of the ministers, allegedly because of the extremity of heat in the summer and the great distance from the ministers' habitations. The people observed no holy days save Christmas and Good Friday, being unwilling to leave their daily labour. The people were averse to the induction of the clergy "the want of which exposes us to the great oppression of the vestries, who act often arbitrarily, lessening and denying us our lawful salaries, —the opinion of the Attorney General being that we are incapable of taking the benefit of the law to oblige them to do justice, without that necessary qualification, or a compact." The Commissary, in his attempted visitations, they said, had "met with so many difficulties, from the churchwardens refusing to take the oath of a churchwarden or to make presentments, and from the general aversion of the people to everything that looks like a spiritual court." Doctor Blair refused to sign this letter.⁵

The passage of "An Act to enable the Inhabitants of this Colony to Discharge the Publick Dues, Officers Fees, & other Tobacco Debts, in Money, for the ensuing Year," on October 12th, 1758, was one of a series of modifications to an Act passed in 1749, all of which greatly diminished the revenues of the clergy and rendered their maintenance uncertain. On the surmise that the crop would be short, a rate of 16s. 8d. a hundred-weight was fixed as an optional sum; and parishes were allowed the privilege of paying their ministers in money instead of tobacco. The clergy had kept quiet, even though they recognised the injustice of the plan—their stipends having been established by

⁵*William Meade: Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia, II., 393ff.; Sadler Phillips: Early English Colonies, p. 65.*

law. At length, they convened, and drew up an address to the Crown, pleading their grievances. They prayed that the Act be declared null and void, and that instruction be sent to the Governor that no Act be passed repealing the Act of 1748, which had defined their rights and had received royal confirmation.⁶ It was out of this prolonged controversy over the clergy's rates that the celebrated Camm case arose, in which Patrick Henry was brought to the foreground.

The agitation for resident bishops in America received little support from Virginia; but at least one earnest effort was made in that province. It is evident that the original cause of the application came from the "United Convention of New York and New Jersey," which deputed two clergymen (Myles Cooper and Robert McKean) to visit the southern part of the continent, "for the purpose of securing the co-operation of their brethren in that region in procuring an American episcopate." Doctor James Horrocks, sixth president of William and Mary College and Commissary of the Bishop of London, promised his aid and influence in the matter, and called a meeting of the clergy at Williamsburg for the 4th of May, 1771. Only a small number answered the summons; and it was voted that the Commissary call a second meeting, first advertising the nature of the business in hand. Hence, a convention was opened on the 4th of June, attended by only twelve clergymen—an even smaller number than before. Whether or not such a minority could be deemed a convention was first debated; it was decided in the affirmative. It was determined inadvisable to address the King on the subject of an American episcopate, but it was unanimously agreed to refer the matter to the Bishop of London for his opinion and advice. Later the question of addressing the King was reconsidered; and, notwithstanding strong opposition, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to the King for an American episcopate. Two leading clergymen of the colony—the Reverend Thomas Gwatkin and the Reverend Samuel Henley, both professors in William and Mary College—registered a formal protest against the vote of the meeting; and the House of Burgesses passed a resolution of appreciation of the "Opposition they have made to the pernicious Project of a few mistaken Clergymen, for introducing an American Bishop; A Measure by which much Disturbance, great Anxiety, and Apprehension would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American Subjects."

These circumstances produced a coldness between the churchmen of Virginia and of the northern provinces. A letter was addressed to the Virginia Episcopalians by the "Convention of the Clergy of New York and New Jersey," urging that the jurisdiction of the proposed

⁶*Fulham MSS., Va., Box II., #96 (Library of Congress transcript).*

bishops would be purely spiritual, and they would not be empowered to interfere with the civil or religious privileges of the dissenters. Gwatkin published a reply; but it is not in the scope of this treatise to review the controversy.⁷

II. MARYLAND CONVENTIONS

When the Reverend Thomas Bray, Commissary for the Bishop of London in the province of Maryland, arrived, he immediately took in hand the problems of the Church. In Maryland, as well as in Virginia, the provisions for the maintenance of the clergy were disregarded, and ministers felt that they were inadequately supported. Doctor Bray found the Governor ready to concur in all proper methods for remedying the situation; but it was necessary that the Assembly act favourably in the matter. The same ship which had brought the worthy Commissary to Maryland had conveyed an order of Council disannulling the law for religion, thus depriving the clergy of the benefits of the poll. The Church was under the attacks of both Romanists and Quakers.

Prior to the meeting of the legislative body, Doctor Bray convened all the clergy on the Western Shore, that he might ascertain the general state of public sentiment and determine what measures would prove expedient. During the Assembly, he preached several sermons designed to show the importance of the law which he advocated; and consequently an Act, providing "that the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, the Psalter and the Psalms of David, and Morning and Evening Prayer therein contained, be solemnly read, and by all and every minister or reader, in every church, or other place of public worship, within this Province," was unanimously passed. It was further provided that a tax of forty pounds per poll be levied annually for the support of the clergy, the same to be collected by the sheriff and paid to the vestry. The vestry was defined, and its duties were prescribed. Provision was made for wedding fees. The law was enacted May 7th, 1700.⁸

Doctor Bray then proceeded to convene his clergy. He called them together at Annapolis, May 22nd; seventeen answered the roll call, and the business proceeded in orderly fashion. A charge was delivered by the Commissary. The object of the gathering was to con-

⁷A. L. Cross: *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, pp. 230-240 (an excellent summary); *Protestant Episcopal Historical Collections*, 1851, p. 156.

⁸Perry: *Historical Collections, Maryland*, pp. 30-31.

sider the prevention of scandals in the clergymen who might enter the province, keeping them at their duty of catechising and preaching and visiting, and propagating "the true religion in the neighbouring provinces." The convention passed resolutions of gratitude to the Governor and to the Speaker of the House for their aid in re-establishing the Church in the province. There were formal resolutions as to catechising and preaching: "That we will make it our utmost Endeavour to cause all Children under the Age of nine Years, to learn the Church Catechism, as alsoe morning & Evening Prayer by heart; and to perswade the Parents of those that are not at too great a Distance from Church, to bring them thither to be publickly examined;" also, "that the same care be taken in instructing children between the ages of nine and thirteen (the "second class"); and "as to the 3^d Class, that we will endeavour all we can to perswade Soe many of the young people of our respective parishes, as possible, to read such Books as we shall advise them to, more particularly those that shall be judged most proper to instruct them in the Nature, Terms and Conditions of the Covenant of Grace; in order to introduce them to the Lord's Supper; and that in order to engage them betimes more effectually to a good life." Conferences were to be held for the benefit of the older pupils, at which, among other things, they should be taught to sing "the new Version of Psalms, according to the best Tunes". The clergy resolved to preach to their respective flocks "a Scheme of Divinity. . . . That we may more effectually Impress the great Doctrines of Christianity upon the minds of the people, as alsoe more Religiously observe the great Festivalls of our Church." They agreed to stress the necessity of Baptism; "finding the Prejudices of our People to be more against Godfathers and Godmothers than any other Institutions of our Church." The clergy also considered the means of keeping up the high moral tone of their office, since it was realised that the introduction of unworthy men had weakened the Church and subjected it to criticism. Missionary interest was manifested in the resolution, "out of our penury," to subscribe towards the support of one minister in the destitute sister Church of Pennsylvania, where the Quakers were a great and aggressive force. Commissary Blair of Virginia was to be notified to promote a similar subscription in his province.⁹

Encouraged by the spirit of this gathering, the Governor ordered that a general visitation be held annually on the first Wednesday after Low Sunday at Annapolis; and that each fall visitations should be held separately for the clergy on the Eastern Shore at York and for the clergy on the Western Shore at Annapolis. The significance of this

⁹*Fulham MSS., Maryland, #1 (Library of Congress transcript).*

early convocation of Maryland ministers, at the call of Doctor Bray, lies both in its frank avowal of the pastor's responsibility as a teacher and an example and in the fact that, as Francis Lister Hawks expressed it, this meeting gave birth to the first missionary effort made by any part of the Church in this continent.¹⁰

Bray soon left for England, and no successor of equal powers guided the Maryland Church. Of the clerical visitations of the next few years, little is known. They again come into prominence, however, during the administration of the Reverend Christopher Wilkinson and the Reverend Jacob Henderson, two able and industrious men. The former was Commissary for the Eastern Shore; the latter for the Western Shore. Both took office in 1716, and promptly convened the clergy of their respective jurisdictions. In spite of Governor John Hart's friendliness to the Church, the commissaries had a difficult time; and when their visitations seemed to take the form of a spiritual court, there was opposition. The Assembly and the people of the higher class were hostile to an established clergy and to the attempts to extend the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. At Henderson's first visitation, the clergy advised the Commissary not to attempt to set up his jurisdiction.

Wilkinson convened the clergy of the Eastern Shore on the 25th of October, 1717. Seven attended. A letter of thanks to the Bishop of London was prepared; complaints concerning local conditions were made and discussed. The Bishop was asked to intercede with the Lord Proprietor to enjoin all governors to pass laws favourable to the Church, and to influence the gentlemen of authority to be more tenderly affected to the clergy and to support the Commissary, as well as to keep alive the good parishes and improve the poor ones.¹¹

There were twelve clergymen present at Henderson's first commissarial visitation at Annapolis, besides the Commissary. The clergy were asked to present their orders and licenses from the Bishop of London. This action brought on a dispute, which was afterwards settled. Articles of enquiry were delivered to the church-wardens, who were to assume their proper responsibility. These articles regarded the ministers and their fidelity, things pertaining to the churches, the morals of the parishioners, the orderly selection of church-officers, and the conduct and qualifications of the school-masters. Is the minister of sober life? Does he instruct the youth in the Catechism? Does

¹⁰*Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation* (Hawks: *Historical Contributions*, II., 518-519).

¹¹*Perry: Historical Collections, Maryland*, pp. 89-91; *Fulham MSS., Maryland*, #63 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

he try to reclaim Papists and sectaries? Does he give notice of holy days? Does he read the acts of the Assembly concerning swearing and vice? Does he administer the Holy Communion in such a way that every person may receive twice a year? Is he diligent in visiting the sick? Is the church in good repair? Are the necessary books provided? Is there a decent communion table with coverings? Do any of the parishioners lie under suspicion of adultery, fornication, or incest? Are there any drunkards and swearers? Are there any persons of sixteen who fail to receive the Lord's Supper three times a year? Do any families neglect or refuse to send their children and servants to be catechised? Such were the questions for the church-wardens to ask.¹²

Both commissaries started out systematically; both planned regular convocations of the clergy. Great difficulties stood in the way of the execution of their office. Governor Hart addressed the convention of the Eastern Shore clergy in April, 1718. He declared that he had not resided long in Maryland before he realised the need of a Commissary, "for the bettr Governm^t of the Church in y^s Province—this oblig'd me to remonstrate that Defect to his Lordship"—the Bishop of London. There were several difficulties, he added, in the execution of the commissarial commission; these were due in good measure "to the Constitution of the Province and the Naturall Scituation of y^e Country, fil'd wth great Rivers and Creeks which renders it impracticable, to put the ecclesiasticall Canons in full force, as it is much to be wish'd they might be, as well here as in England." He promised his hearty concurrence in whatever the clergy might recommend "that may be of use or benefit to the Church of England in this province." He advised the clergy to offer any grievances they might labour under to the Assembly for redress.¹³

While Commissary Wilkinson's relations with Governor Hart remained harmonious, there was considerable friction between Commissary Henderson and that official. A suspicion lurked in Henderson's mind that the Governor was not sincere in his protestations of interest, and that he was not above using the influence of the clergy to further his own designs. Before the Governor departed from the province (1720), he convened the clergy at Annapolis, without notifying Henderson. It was reported that he desired them to join in an address against the Lord Proprietor. Henderson appeared on the scene, and urged the clergy not to join in any resolution without consulting the Commissary. To his charge, the clergy replied that they

¹²Perry: *Historical Collections, Maryland*, pp. 96-99.

¹³Fulham MSS., Virginia, Box I., #77 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

had no inclination to deviate from the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and that they had not met because of things of an extraordinary nature but voluntarily to take leave of the Governor and to acknowledge his favours. Henderson responded with thanks and explained the grounds of his suspicions.¹⁴

A convention of the Western Shore clergy was held June 29th, 1720, attended by Henderson and eight others. An address of thanks to Lord Baltimore was framed. "We rejoice in it, both is our glory and our happiness, that we live under an administration, the head whereof has declared that he has nothing more at heart than the Protestant establishment, and that he will do all that in him lies to encourage & favor the Church of England as by law established."¹⁵

Henderson's efforts were constructive. On the 28th of June, 1721, he convened his clergy; and in his speech he enjoined loyalty to the King and to the Lord Proprietor, and urged his hearers to consult how best they might promote religion and the ends of their sacred function. He suggested that the clergy resolve to be more diligent in catechetical instruction—"the groundwork of all . . . our business being to watch for the souls of men;" to administer the Lord's Supper more frequently, and to celebrate the divine services regularly on Sundays; to keep the holy days according to the canon; to adhere strictly to the rules and orders of the Church; and not to interfere in the business of each other's parishes. There was a report of the grievous conditions in William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's County. Because of long distances and a vacancy, the children there had died unbaptised, and there had been no services for three or four years. Henderson took personal care of that field for eight months, giving his income to the orphan of a clergyman. He was interested in the circumstances of the widows and orphans of the clergy; and at his conventions the subject was considered.¹⁶

We find the clergy of the Western Shore in convention May 27th-29th, 1724. They then address their thanks to Governor Calvert for his hearty zeal and interest in their cause, and write the Bishop of London of their loyalty to him and to the King.

"We have the full enjoyment of our rights & privileges under the Govern^t of the R^t Hon. the Lord Proprietary, & we have been distinguished by particular favours from his Excell^y the present Gov^r."¹⁷

¹⁴Perry: *Historical Collections, Maryland*, pp. 119-121.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 133-135, 136.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 234.

In 1730, Henderson was made commissary of the Eastern as well as of the Western Shore. At his first visitation of his new jurisdiction (June 24th), he said that his object was to examine the credentials of the clergy, to bespeak the assistance and concurrence of his ministers in the strict and orderly administration of the divine offices, and to exhort them to a suitable and exemplary life and conversation. At the convocation on the Western Shore (July 15th), he delivered the same address—really a very inspiring utterance. Both convocations were reminded that “there is one thing in which we must confess we are blame worthy, both Pastors and People, in that greater care is not taken about the Instruction of the Negroe. It cannot be denied but that they are part of our cure, & that we shall be accountable to God for the discharge of our duty to them.” Family worship was encouraged; and a picture of the awful consequences of prayerless homes was drawn. Henderson dwelt on the importance of the clergyman’s personal example. “What can a Minister of the Gospel expect but the utmost contempt, whose life is a flat contradiction to his doctrine?”¹⁸

The following year, at his visitation on the Eastern Shore (June 16th, 1731), Henderson explained his own efforts to teach the negroes, and he received reports from the clergy regarding their own experiences. Here we find the convention resolving itself into a sort of forum, in which the members might profit by each other’s example. One clergyman found that “his parishioners were generally so brutish that they would not suffer their Negroes to be instructed, catechized, or baptized.” Another had taken pains “to convince the people of necessity of having their Negroes instructed;” and had baptised several. Similar expressions were received from all present. The same subject was discussed at the visitation on the Western Shore.¹⁹

In August, 1753, the Maryland clergy convened at Annapolis, under the presidency of the Reverend Alexander Malcolm, of St. Anne’s Church. Letters were read from the Proprietors, and an address was delivered to Governor Sharpe, congratulating him on his safe arrival. The clergymen pledged their “firm Resolution conscientiously to promote Religion, Loyalty, and Harmony among the several Members of this Community.” Another session of the clergy was held in October, at which the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church were discussed at length.²⁰

¹⁸*Perry, pp. 288-295.*

¹⁹*Ibid., pp. 304-307.*

²⁰*Maryland Historical Magazine, III., 259-270.*

III. PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTIONS

The Pennsylvania clergymen participated in certain conventions of the clergy of New Jersey and New York, and joined in addresses to the Bishop of London. An early example of such a joint convention is found in the Burlington convention of November, 1705, which will be discussed later. In September, 1717, the Pennsylvania and Delaware ministers signed an "humble address" to Governor William Keith, expressing gratitude for his favour to the Church.

"The special Notice you have been pleased to take of us upon all occasions, the Respect and tenderness wherewith we have been att all times treated by you, the restoreing us to that privilege whereof we were lately deprived, the having Marriage Licenses directed to us Exclusive of all Others, In short yo^r firm and steady adherence to the Church of England in every respect and yo^r readiness to Assist and Support her Ministry, are such strong Endearm^{ts} to us of yo^r person and Govern^t."²¹

There was a convocation of clergymen held at Chichester, Pennsylvania, in October, 1723. The presence of the Reverend John Urmstone, a priest of bad reputation, was very offensive to the better class of people. He had no license from the Bishop of London except his former license for Carolina, where he had brought discredit on the Church. For awhile he had served Christ Church, and had ingratiated himself with some members of the parish. At last the vestry succeeded in getting rid of him; and Urmstone moved to Maryland. The Chichester convocation followed Urmstone's dismissal; and there a deputation was appointed to the vestry of Christ Church, to express the readiness of the clergymen to concur in Urmstone's dismissal, provided the matter be properly brought before them. The Reverend John Talbot was one of the deputation. The vestry seemed very grateful; and the clergymen who had thus sustained that body were requested to supply the parish until a settled minister should arrive.²²

An assembly of the clergy was held at Christ Church, Philadelphia, September 24th, 1729. Both the Reverend William Becket and Commissary Archibald Cumming addressed the gathering. There were reports of the activities of the different parishes.²³ The Pennsylvania ministers doubtless had frequent meetings; there are a number of their addresses extant.

A convention of a formal character was held at Philadelphia, be-

²¹*S. P. G. Series A, XII., pp. 216-218 (Library of Congress transcript).*

²²*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., 551-552 (monograph by John Fulton).*

²³*Perry: Historical Collections, Delaware, pp. 54-55.*

ginning the 30th of April, 1760. Doctor William Smith presided; and two New Jersey clergymen attended, besides the delegation from Pennsylvania and Delaware. On the 2nd of May, an address to Governor James Hamilton was adopted. The body expressed its loyalty, and invoked the Governor's "patronage and protection." Next day, an address to the Bishop of London was framed. In it the clergy spoke of the hardships under which the Church was labouring.

"Indeed nothing but the good Providence of God together with the excellency of its constitution, the most assiduous and extensive Labours of the Missionaries & the aids of the Venerable Society for propagating the Gospel . . . hitherto secures the visibility of our Church; for while every other denomination is guarded by some plan of discipline, we alone are left without that necessary assistance, without a Head to guide us with Counsel, Authority to correct abuses, or a jurisdiction to ascertain the just privileges of our Ministry and Congregations."

On the 4th, the Reverend Doctor Jenney consulted with the group on the advisability of allowing the Reverend William Macclenachan the use of his pulpit. It was felt that the clergyman under consideration had acted irregularly; and a committee recommended that he should not be accorded the privilege of preaching in the church. Thomas and Richard Penn, the Proprietaries, were addressed by the convention; the clergy expressed their "grateful sense of the many invaluable privileges which, as members of community, (they) enjoy under the Charter granted to this Province" Finally, an address was prepared in order to secure the favour of the Archbishop of Canterbury. To his Grace, the convention said:—

"It is with concern, my Lord, we are compelled to observe, that the more flourishing and populous our Colonies become, the more alarming is our situation. Seminaries of Learning are now erected in many of the most noted Provinces, particularly in the City of Philadelphia under the conduct of Professors of approved worth, whose Abilities are every equal to such a Task.

"The Inhabitants of this Country of European Extraction are quite deprived of the benefits arising from the Episcopal Office & particularly of the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation. Very few have either inclination or capacity to attend to those essential differences by which the Constitution of our Church is distinguish'd.

"The inconvenience of Passing & repassing the dangerous Atlantic, being added to these difficulties, will we appre-

hend induce many to Educate their Children to the Dissenting Ministry rather than ours, so that our Church will not have such full advantages from these Seminaries of Learning as she otherwise might have."

To the Bishop of London, the convention reported, that "the State of Religion in the Northern Counties in America becomes more and more a subject of importance. . . . The Church of England here is far from bearing the most favourable aspect. This we conceive is owing to those hardships under which our Church particularly labors." In general, the addresses to both the Archbishop and the Bishop of London were identical.

The clergymen gave reports of their work at the convention. Lewes, Dover, Apoquinimick, Newcastle, Chester, Oxford, Radnor, Lancaster, Carnarvon, Pequea, York and Cumberland, and Berks and Northampton, were all brought to the attention of the gathering. The missionaries agreed to take turns in ministering to the vacant churches.²⁴

On the 31st of May, 1765, the clergy were again convened at Philadelphia; Doctor Smith was in the chair. An address to the new Bishop of London, Doctor Richard Terrick, was prepared, reminding the diocesan that "the State of Religion in these Colonies becomes every Day more & more an Object of Importance." The Church, it was said, was "far from being in a flourishing State;" its hardships were due in great measure to the want of a resident bishop.²⁵

IV. SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTIONS

On the 10th of January, 1722, the clergy of South Carolina, assembled in convocation, addressed Governor Francis Nicholson, the Council and the Assembly of the province, in behalf of "the further Security of y^e Church of England in this Province." They urged that the Act of Uniformity, together with the act for exempting Protestant dissenters, be put in force in South Carolina as in south Britain; "particularly that the legislature would authorise & assert the said Churches undoubted Right & Privilege of Marriage, hitherto invaded by Dissenting Teachers." They were alarmed at the infringement of their prerogatives, and wished to retain a monopoly so far as performing marriages was concerned; they were also disturbed about their financial state. Therefore, they prayed that a more competent maintenance be assigned the clergy. As the currency in use was of low value, they had suffered considerable hardship.

²⁴*Horace W. Smith: Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, I., 268ff.; Perry: Historical Collections, Pennsylvania, pp. 295ff.*

²⁵*Fullham MSS., Pennsylvania, #186 (Library of Congress transcript).*

There were other petitions. The convocation asked that the assistant's or lecturer's place at Charles Town be settled, and that the free school already authorised by law be perpetually annexed. It was prayed that the province be divided into more parishes. The act requiring the ministers to keep their parsonages in repair should be repealed, the clergymen averred, and needed repairs should be provided for by law. Lastly, it was suggested that some other method of investing them with the legal right and title to their respective benefices should be enacted. The address was referred at the Council Chamber to a committee for the revision of the laws.²⁶

Another convention met at Charles Town, July 12th of the same year. At that time the clergy rendered thanks to Governor Nicholson for his services to the Church in general and to the ministers in particular. In their memorial, they declared that "it is chiefly owing to his great Example & that generous Encouragement he hath been pleased to give to so good a work, that the New Church of S^t Philip's Charles City, begun some years ago, but blown down & demolished by a furious Hurricane, is now in Such forwardness, that in a few months we hope to see it refitted for divine Service, a work of that Magnitude, Regularity, Beauty & Solidity, as will be the greatest ornament of this City & an Honour to the whole Province, being not to be paralleled in his Majesty's dominions in America." The Governor had also been responsible for various donations from the General Assembly, by which several parishes had benefitted.²⁷

We find the clergy passing resolutions, May 16th, 1723, on the departure of the Reverend William Tredwell Bull, who had served as Commissary of the Bishop of London. They commended his "sound Doctrine, diligence in dispensing of it, strict & exemplary Conformity of Practice to it."²⁸

The Reverend Alexander Garden, who was appointed Commissary in 1726, was one of the most systematic and efficient representatives of the See of London in the whole colonial period. Until his resignation, twenty-three years later, he never failed to call the clergy together for an annual visitation. A good example is furnished by the visitation held at Charles Town, October 20th, 1730. The meeting opened with public services; one of the clergymen preached. Mr. Garden examined the credentials of those who failed to attend the former visitation or who had newly arrived. The latter were exhorted to "a pastoral Care & Watchfulness, over their respective Flocks, propor-

²⁶S. P. G. *New Photostats, South Carolina*, ff. 264-266 (*Library of Congress*).

²⁷S. P. G. *B-Series, IV.*, #118 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

²⁸S. P. G. *B-Series, IV.*, #152 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

tioned to the Danger of the Times; and that they would exert themselves with the utmost Vigor & Diligence against the growing Infidelity of the Age." Complaints were heard against a certain minister, who had refused to baptise children, save in danger of death, unless they were provided with sponsors who were communicants as well. As the minister under consideration was not present, it was determined to write him to follow the prudential practice of his brethren. It was resolved that the clergy address the Governor after his landing, "in order to lay before the Council at Assembly, the Inconveniency of the want of a Bishops Court, that those Crimes which are Cognizable by the Bishops Court at home, may be punished here by the Common Law."²⁹

The visitations were held, even when there was no extraordinary business for discussion. At the meeting of April 19th, 1732, nothing was transacted beyond the examination of orders and licenses. Always there was a sermon. Thus Garden described the visitation held the second Wednesday after Easter, 1733:—

"The Visitation began with Divine Service, & a Sermon preach'd by M^r Morritt, after w^{ch} having examin'd and minuted all such Credentials as I had not examin'd and minuted before; I exhorted my Brethren to all possible Diligence & Watchfulness in the pastoral Charge committed to them; & so much the rather, for that they saw the modern *Infidel Books & Notions* began to find their way into this Province."³⁰

Garden resigned as Commissary in 1749. The visitations of the clergy ceased; afterwards the convocations were known as annual meetings of the clergy. During his term of office, Garden had proceeded against four irregular clergymen; two of them had resigned rather than face trial. One he had suspended from his office and benefice.³¹

V. EARLY NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY CONVENTIONS

Seven clergymen convened at New York in November, 1702, "by general Consent;" and at that meeting, they drew up an account of the state of the Church in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and New York; a copy of the same was sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was then in its infancy. The Reverend George Keith and the Reverend John Talbot, who were in the midst of a tour

²⁹S. P. G. A-Series, XXIII., pp. 222-223 (Library of Congress transcript).

³⁰Fulham MSS., South Carolina #37 (Library of Congress transcript).

³¹Fulham MSS., South Carolina, #290 (Library of Congress transcript).

of inspection of the Church in the colonies, at the instance of the aforesaid Society, attended the meeting. Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia was the patron of the gathering, and paid the expenses of the ministers who did not live in the city. Of that convention, Talbot wrote:—

“The Clergy here have had a Sort of Convocation at the instance and charge of his Excellency Col. Nicholson Gov^r of Virginia we were but 7 in all, & a week together we sat considering of ways & means to propagate the Gospel, and to that end we have drawn up a Scheme of the present State of the Church in these Provinces.”³²

Another convention was held at New York, beginning October 5th, 1704, and attended by twelve of those whom Talbot called “y^e Messengers of the Church.” Lord Cornbury and Governor Nicholson gathered the group together; and Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York were represented. Another representation of the state of affairs of the Church was drawn up, and “transmitted to y^e venerable Society sign’d by their 12 Apostles apud Americanos.” The report included the work in Boston and Rhode Island, as well as in the colonies represented. Satisfaction was expressed that the Society had undertaken a mission to the Indians in the person of the Reverend Thoroughgood Moor. It was observed that New Jersey was the only field which did not partake of Queen Anne’s bounty; there was no support of the Church legally established in that place. It was also suggested that the children should first be satisfied, and the lost sheep recovered, “who have gone astray among Hereticks & Quakers who have denyed y^e Faith and are worse than Infidels and Indians that never knew it.” New Jersey, being next to Philadelphia, “has been most infested with the Leaven of Quakerism, but by God’s blessing upon y^e labours of y^e R^d M^r George Keith & M^r Alexander Innes many see their Errors and Cry aloud *Transiens adjuva nos*.” Each field of labour was described; and the “summary account” did not hesitate to recommend changes. For example, it was stated that “the Worthy and ingenious M^r Muirson, who is now going for England in the hopes of being admitted into Holy Orders,” would make a more satisfactory catechist than “the pious and deserving M^r Elias Neau, who was brought up a Merchant.”³³

³²George Keith: *A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck*, 1706, p. 55; Edgar L. Pennington, *John Talbot, Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 28, 86, 173.

³³Edgar L. Pennington: *John Talbot, Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 101, 107; *Documentary History of New York*, III., 74-77; S. P. G. A-Series, II., #xxii. (*Library of Congress transcript*).

On the 2nd of November, 1705, fourteen clergymen, representing New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, assembled at Burlington, under the leadership of the Reverend Mr. Talbot. They were deeply concerned because of the lack of a bishop in their midst; and it was decided to address their ecclesiastical superiors. Talbot was chosen as the spokesman, to present in person their petition for a bishop; and a letter was addressed to the Bishop of London, expressing their great desire for a suffragan, and asking him to decide whether it would be convenient or not to present the application to the Queen.

In their communication "to the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Abps., the Right Reverend the Bishops, and others Right Honourable Members of the Society Erected for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," they declared that they had been deprived of "the advantage that might have been received of some Presbyterian and Independent Ministers that formerly were, and of others that are still willing to conform and receive the holy character, for want of a Bishop to give it."

"The baptized want to be confirmed. The presence is necessary in the councils of these provinces to prevent the inconveniences which the Church labours under by the influences which seditious men's counsels have upon the publick administration and the opposition which they make to the good inclinations of well affected persons; he"—a bishop—"is wanted not only to govern and direct us but to cover us from the malignant effects of those misrepresentations that have been made by some persons empowered to admonish and inform against us who indeed want admonition themselves."

The clergy also protested against reports which had been circulated about them, lessening their reputation; and urged that no credit be given to any complaints against them but such as are under the hands of three clergymen. So preponderant were the Dutch and French languages in certain localities that they petitioned "that there be no preachers permitted to preach among them"—that is, among the Dutch and French inhabitants—"but in the English Tongue or at least of Episcopal ordination that can preach both in English and in their own Tongues, Nor any Schoolmasters to teach any Vulgar Languages but the English, without a particular license from the Governor, till God bless us with a Bishop. This last Expedient is thought by the Governor to be a likely means of uniting the Country both in their religious and Civil interests."³⁴

³⁴Edgar L. Pennington: *John Talbot, Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 38-40, 126; Perry: *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 508-509.

Talbot sailed for England, and presented the petition in person.

Colonel Robert Hunter did not enjoy the full confidence of the clergy, although he had his adherents. The Reverend William Vesey, of Trinity Church, New York, had good reason to regard the Governor as his enemy; although Vesey appeared to one of his fellow-clergymen as a man "discontented under y^e pblick administⁿ and linked wth a party who have hitherto endeavour'd to Sow Contention between the Govern^t and the Clergy."³⁵ The Reverend Thomas Poyer, of Jamaica, Long Island, found his parsonage and glebe in the possession of the dissenters, who refused to surrender it; he did not feel that the Governor accorded him full support, and he registered a complaint in a letter home.

The clergy of New York and New Jersey convened in New York in 1712. Governor Hunter addressed the group, and assured his hearers of his concurrence. He stated that one of their number—Mr. Poyer—had branded him with an odious character; and he appealed to God and to the clergy to witness as to the truth or falsity of the accusation. He said that he had forgiven the offender and would return good for evil. Poyer replied that he hoped the Governor would "give some allowance to the Disturbances w^{ch} must have been raised in a Person struggling under the greatest hardships;" and asked for pardon. The clergy delivered their formal address to his Excellency. They had found the establishment of the Church by legislative act was "so precarious and lyable to so many inconveniences," that they wished the Governor's advice on the wisdom of begging the Queen to settle the Church on a surer foundation. They disclaimed all reflections on the administration, so far as Jamaica was concerned; and they thanked the Governor for inducting Poyer into the rectorship there. They appreciated the favours extended to Elias Neau, the catechist, and to Mr. Bondet, Mr. Barclay, and other clergymen. They hoped that the Governor would promote the building of a church at Albany.

"We could heartily wish that there were effectual care taken to promote the Establishment of the Church thro' out the other Counties of this province as well as to secure and corroborate it where it is already settled. This and what else may be for the promotion and encouragement of Religion here or may seem proper to suggest to our patrons in England we humbly submit to your Ex'cys Judgment and discretion."

The clergy requested that they might meet twice a year; and Governor Hunter agreed that such gatherings would prove a means of

³⁵*Letter of John Sharpe: S. P. G. A-Series, VII., 214 (Library of Congress transcript).*

promoting and maintaining a good understanding, and would enable them to transmit a true account of their labours to the patrons at home.³⁶

A convention of the New York and New Jersey clergy was held in February, 1713. To that gathering, Colonel Lewis Morris addressed a letter, denying the slanders made by the Reverend Jacob Henderson. The ministers acknowledged the same, with the statement that they wished that his resentment had been attended by more moderation and temper. Still they thanked him for his interest in the Church. Neau the catechist described to the convention the opposition which he encountered in his efforts to instruct the negroes. The people seemed to think that "Christian knowledge would be a mean to make their Slaves more cunning, and apter to Wickedness than they are." He begged the clergy to combat such a notion. Governor Hunter, he said, had shown his great zeal towards the religious training of the negroes: he and his wife had visited the catechising school, and had ordered all their slaves to attend.³⁷

On May 2nd, 1739, the clergy of New York and New Jersey convened at Trinity Church, New York, at the call of Mr. Vesey. They delivered to him the report of their incomes and their parochial accounts; these he transmitted to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.³⁸ In May, 1748, the clergy presented a petition to Governor Clinton, setting forth that some inconveniences had arisen from the fact that the justices of the peace were executing marriage licenses by virtue of their direction "to any Protestant minister;" since those magistrates regarded themselves as ministers of justice, they contended that they had a right to do so. The clergy prayed that an addition might be made to licenses in the future, directing them "to any Protestant minister of the gospel." With this the Governor complied.³⁹

VI. LATER NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY CONVENTIONS

1. IN NEW JERSEY

From 1705 to 1758 no conventions appear to have been held in New Jersey, the clergy of that province meeting during the interval, if at all, with their brethren of either New York or Pennsylvania. But in 1758, probably through the leadership of the Rev. Thomas Brad-

³⁶*Documentary History of New York*, III., 84, 157-158; MS. Clarendon, 102, fol. 211 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

³⁷MS. Clarendon, 102, fol. 212-213 (*Library of Congress transcript*); S. P. G. A-Series, VIII., p. 292 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

³⁸S. P. G. B-Series, VII., Part I., p. 101 (*Library of Congress transcript*).

³⁹*Anatomist*, No. VI., *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1768.

bury Chandler of Elizabeth Town, regular conventions were instituted and continued without interruption for over ten years. Their reasons for adopting the convention method, as given in a letter eight years later to the Bishop of London, are instructive:⁴⁰

“About Eight years ago the Clergy of New Jersey, taking into Consideration the deplorable State of the Church of England in America through the want of Bishops and a regular Discipline, and fearing, unless that Relief should be granted which had been so often and earnestly requested, that it would soon be born down in this Part of the Country, by the Weight of its Adversaries—entered into a Resolution, after the maturest Deliberation, to meet together annually, or oftener as Occasions should require, in Order to exert their united Efforts for the Prevention, if possible, or at least for the Retarding of the impending Evil. This Apprehension and Disposition in the Clergy gave Rise to those Conventions in this and some of the neighboring Colonies, of which your Lordship must have frequently heard: and the many Advantages that have been found to attend them have occasioned their Continuance.”

After stating that their first convention had been held in November 1758, they explain that *annual* conventions, attended by clergy from adjacent provinces, “have been regularly held with considerable Solemnity,” a sermon being preached at the opening, a president chosen annually to act for one year only and for no two years in succession. “*Occasional* conventions have sometimes amounted to several in the Course of a year.” Since two days were all that they could give to any one convention, “whatever Business we are unable to finish in that Time, is either adjourned to another general Meeting, or, if it requires Dispatch, is left to Committees, who are to act in the name of the Convention, and agreeably to their Instructions.”

On November 3, 1759, the clergy of New Jersey held their second annual convention of this period at Perth Amboy. They recommended establishing a mission in the upper part of Hunterdon County, and the appointment of the Rev. Andrew Morton to the same. They held that such a mission would be of great service, since that region was growing very populous.⁴¹

It soon became customary for the laity of vacant missions or Churchmen in communities where no mission existed to appeal to the

⁴⁰Quoted in full in Samuel A. Clark, “The History of St. John’s Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey,” 1857, pp. 118-119.

⁴¹S. P. G. B-Series, xxiv., p. 233 (Library of Congress transcript).

clergy in convention to use their influence with the Venerable Society in providing them with ministers. Thus the convention, meeting in Perth Amboy on December 6, 1762, addressed the Society,⁴² making certain recommendations:

(1) The congregation at Piscataqua (near New Brunswick), having built a new church a few years before, had requested the care of some neighboring missionary. The convention, awaiting the Society's direction, had assigned the Rev. Robert McKean (then of New Brunswick, later of Perth Amboy) to minister to them, and this Mr. McKean had been doing.

(2) At a previous convention at Burlington, the Anglicans in Mount Holly had requested a full time minister, the ministrations of the Rev. Colin Campbell of Burlington being "inadequate to their wants." The convention had outlined to them the Society's terms which must be met by the Mount Holly people before the convention would recommend a missionary to be settled there.

(3) The people of Trenton, having requested the convention's recommendation for a missionary, and having given "proper security" for his support, they were prepared to request a missionary for that place, but in the meantime had heard of the appointment of the Rev. Augur Treadwell, who was on his way from England.

On October 3, 1765, in a convention assembled in Perth Amboy, the clergy of New Jersey and New York eloquently pressed the need of a resident bishop.⁴³ They addressed both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They prayed "that One or more Bishops may be speedily sent us." Dissenters were opposed to the scheme, and there was opposition to any suggestion of a spiritual court. Therefore, the clergy took pains to obviate all objections by emphasizing the need of a purely ecclesiastical episcopate divorced from all civil offices and powers—"that the Bishops to be granted us are only to exercise those Powers which are essential to the Office, with Jurisdiction over none but the Professors of the Church."

⁴²Clark, as above, pp. 96-98. The clergy attending this convention were: Richard Charlton of Staten Island, N. Y.; Colin Campbell of Burlington, N. J.; T. B. Chandler of Elizabeth Town; Isaac Browne of Newark; Samuel Cooke of Monmouth County; Robert McKean of New Brunswick.

⁴³Fulham MSS., North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, #8 (Library of Congress transcript); T. B. Chandler: "Appeal Farther Defended," pp. 23-27; Clark, S. A., as above, pp. 109-110. The president of the convention was the Rev. Myles Cooper of New York. Other New York clergy were: Samuel Auchmuty, Richard Charlton, John Ogilvie, and Samuel Seabury. Those from New Jersey were: Isaac Browne, Colin Campbell, Samuel Cooke, Thomas B. Chandler, Robert McKean, Andrew Morton, & Leonard Cutting.

"Altho' this is less than could be reasonably expected in a Christian Country, as we know of no Instances since the Time of Constantine in which Bishops have not been invested with a considerable Share of Civil Power; yet we shall be glad to accept of it, and we hope it will be sufficient. . . . The Truth is, we shall be glad of an Episcopate at any Rate . . . and we must leave it to Providence and the Wisdom of our Superiors, on how respectable a Footing it is proper to place it."

The time of this appeal is to be carefully noted: first, because the Stamp Act had been passed by Parliament in March of that year with resulting resentment in the colonies; and second, because in that very month (October 7-19) a congress of 28 delegates from most of the colonies met in New York to protest, and drew up a "Declaration of rights and liberties." Under these circumstances, and in view of the prevailing temper of the colonies, the appeal for bishops, even though entirely reasonable, aroused the hostility of the dissenters to a white heat and precipitated the bitter controversy soon to follow.

Under date of March 10, 1766, the Bishop of London, Richard Terrick, replied to the joint address of the New Jersey and New York clergy on the subject of an American episcopate. This letter was read to the convention of New Jersey and New York held at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, on October 1, 1766. Dr. Chandler was president.⁴⁴ Judging from the context of the convention's reply, Dr. Terrick, in his letter, intimated pretty plainly that the address of the convention of 1765 "was unseasonable, and from the peculiar Circumstances of the Times, tended to *throw difficulties in the way of Government*." If he did not raise the question of reviving the office of commissary for the colonies, they knew that Dr. Smith of Philadelphia had lately urged its revival, and the convention had good reason to believe that it was being mooted in London.

The convention proceeded to discuss and debate the points raised by the Bishop's letter, came to a fairly general agreement on the substance of their reply, and appointed Chandler, Cooke and Cooper a committee to draft it after the convention adjourned. The committee's

⁴⁴See Clark, S. A., *supra*, pp. 118-119. Sixteen clergymen were present. The others, besides Chandler were: From NEW JERSEY—Samuel Cooke, Leonard Cutting, Nathaniel Evans, Robert McKean. From NEW YORK—Ephraim Avery, Myles Cooper, Robert Charlton, Charles Inglis, Samuel Seabury. From CONNECTICUT—Abraham Jarvis, Jeremiah Leaming, Samuel Peters. From PENNSYLVANIA—William Sturgeon and Hugh Neill. The identity of the Rev. Mr. Bennett is uncertain; possibly he was the Rev. Samuel Bennet, chaplain of a regiment lately in Montreal.

letter, in the name of the convention, is dated Elizabeth Town, October 10, 1766.⁴⁵

Although the convention's reply is very respectful, they did not back down one inch from their previous position. "At the Time of our making the Application in Question, it was impossible to foresee that the Disturbances (protests over the Stamp Act) which followed, would rise to so great a Height." Care being taken to have the design and powers with which bishops were to come to America properly explained—a plan that must "have appeared to the Dissenters themselves so unexceptionable in all Respects, and so manifestly calculated to oblige *them*"—"no opposition from that Quarter was greatly to be dreaded." They had never heard that their application was judged improper or unreasonable *in itself*, and since the former disturbances had subsided, "we hope therefore that it is not unreasonable *now*, to renew our Request."

"Accordingly, by the Direction and in the name of our last Convention we take the Liberty to address your Lordship again on the Subject, most humbly but earnestly imploring your Mediation and Influence, that One or more Bishops may be speedily sent us. The Dissenters in this Country, of every Denomination, have the full Enjoyment of all they can desire towards rendering their respective Forms of Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline compleat—the Moravians in our neighbourhood are allowed a Bishop—and the Papists in Canada have the same Indulgence—and these various sects must all see, and the world sees, that if we had been Dissenters, or Moravians, or Papists, we should not have been so long laboring for an Episcopate to so little Purpose. And yet the only Crime we are conscious of, with Regard to the Public, is, that we belong to the national Church"

They next take up the cudgels against commissaries and in behalf of voluntary conventions in conducting the affairs of the Church, making mention that the Rev. Messrs. Peters and Sturgeon did not concur in the general opinion on this particular subject. It was the convention's opinion "that Commissaries cannot be of any considerable Service in this Part of the Country, nor supply the Want of Bishops in any Degree. Unalienable Episcopal Power, and not Commissariat Power, is the Thing that is wanted."

Commissaries had been tried and their usefulness had not been

⁴⁵Clark, S. A., *supra*, where it is given in full, pp. 118-128. Clark states: "This letter is in Dr. Chandler's own handwriting, and is contained in the Manuscript Volume, from which a large part of the materials for this little work have been drawn." This MS. volume (probably a Letter or Minute Book) is not now known to exist.

great. Those who had served under them were agreed that the Church's affairs were never so well conducted by commissaries as they had been under voluntary conventions. In fact, "the two cases will hardly admit of comparison." Conventions have established "Harmony, Unanimity and Affection amongst ourselves;" commissaries have been "unfortunately the Occasion of much Contention and Discord." Moreover, "the Appointment of Commissaries at this Time, will tend greatly to dishearten our Friends and encourage our Enemies." It will be looked upon as a retreat; as a sign that bishops cannot now and never will be obtained.

This convention in the light of later history was mistaken on one point: the fears of the opponents of the episcopate were not to be allayed by any plan for American bishops, however solemn the promises that American bishops would have no civil powers and no authority over dissenters, so long as the colonies were tied to King and Parliament. But they made good their attack on commissaries and their defence of conventions. The former were never again appointed for the northern colonies, but the convention system was to continue as an enduring institution of the American Church.

In October, 1767, the clergy again met at Elizabeth Town. Again addresses were framed, dwelling on the sufferings of the churches for want of bishops and calling attention to the disadvantage under which the Church must labour. An important step was taken at this convention towards organising a society for the relief of the widows and orphans of the Anglican clergymen. As the Reverend Doctor William Smith expressed it, "the distressed circumstances, in which the Episcopal Clergy in the more northern provinces of America, (and especially the Missionaries in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,) have too frequently been obliged to leave their families, had long been matter of discouragement to many from entering into the ministry of our Church, as well as of regret to pious and worthy members thereof." It was at length resolved, at this meeting, to appoint a committee to frame some plan of provision for the distressed widows and children of such of the clergy as should die in narrow or necessitous circumstances. The committee consisted of Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia; Doctor Samuel Auchmuty, of Trinity Church, New York; Doctor Myles Cooper, President of King's College; and the Reverend Samuel Cooke, of Monmouth county, New Jersey.

The committee met at Perth Amboy, May 12th, 1768; and drew up a plan and draft of a charter, "to be solicited by the Members of the

committee in each of the three provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania."

At a voluntary convention of the clergy at New Brunswick, October 12th, 1768, with Doctor Chandler presiding, the plan was unanimously agreed upon, subject to the approbation of the Venerable Society. Within a year, charters were obtained in all three provinces; the Society pledged a generous donation towards the benevolent undertaking. Thus came into existence three corporations, which have survived all panics and depressions to this day; though altered and amended in certain respects, they are continuing the work which their founders planned and affording security and protection to many families.⁴⁶

2. NEW YORK CONVENTIONS OF 1766 AND 1767

On the 21st of May, 1766, a group of fourteen New York and New Jersey clergymen met at the house of the Reverend Doctor Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York. The purpose of this gathering was expressed, as follows:

"The Clergy of the Province of New York, taking into their serious consideration the present state of the Church of England in the Colonies, where it is obliged to struggle against the opposition of sectaries of various denominations, and labours under the want of the Episcopal Order, and all the advantages and blessings resulting therefrom; agreed upon holding voluntary conventions, at least once in the year and oftener if necessity required, as the most likely means to serve the interests of the Church of England; as they could then not only confer together upon the most likely methods, but use their joint influence and endeavours to obtain the happiness of Bishops, to support the Church against the unreasonable opposition given to it in the Colonies, and to cultivate and improve a good understanding and union with each other."

Doctor Samuel Johnson was unanimously elected president of the convention. After adjourning to the church, and after a sermon by Doctor Auchmuty, the body proceeded to the business in hand. It was moved that an address be presented to Sir Henry Moore, expressing the hope "that he would be pleased to give his Countenance & Protection to this Convention, which meets for valuable Purposes of promoting Religion & Virtue." As it was intended that the con-

⁴⁶Walter H. Stowe: *"The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen"* in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, III., pp. 20ff.

ventions should be held with regularity in the future, "fundamental rules and statutes" were adopted. A president should be annually chosen; he should be a resident of the province, and not hold office two years in succession. No fewer than nine members would be required for holding an "annual convention;" although seven might hold "an occasional convention." The making of fundamental laws and regulations should be confined to the annual conventions, but all other business might be transacted at the voluntary conventions. The president should be empowered to call conventions on emergency; or three members might require the assembling of the same. A standing committee of five should be appointed, of which three would constitute a quorum. No person should be recommended for Holy Orders by any member of the convention, except in annual or special convention. No person should be recommended for the supply of a vacant parish or mission, or any removal negotiated, "till the People have satisfied this Convention that they have made a proper Provision for their Minister according to the Society's Orders, & that they will fulfill their Engagement to them; & that this Convention make it a Point of the utmost Consequence to see that the People do comply with their Obligations." A majority of votes should determine a case; and the clergy present from neighbouring provinces were given the right to vote. Provision was made for a minute book. New statutes and regulations might be added in the future.

It was decided that the next convention should be held in the city of New York, the day after the commencement of King's College. Doctor Auchmuty was elected president. A letter was drafted to Governor Moore, in accordance with the aforesaid resolution; and His Excellency was informed that "the Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of New York, with some of our Brethren from the adjacent Provinces, now met together in voluntary Convention" congratulate him on his appointment as Governor and his safe arrival.

"The Design of our convening at this Time, is to confer together, on the most expedient & proper Measures for promoting the Interest of true Religion, and our excellent Church; our general Attention to which is the more necessary, as it still continues in an imperfect State in this Country, for want of a regular Discipline."

Doctor Auchmuty is thanked for warning the Bishop of London of the alleged intention of the Presbyterians "to make Application to the Kirk of Scotland, for their Influence with the King & British Parliament, to obtain a general Charter of Incorporation."

The S. P. G. is notified of the convention, and of the intention to hold the same annually for conference on the most proper methods to promote the welfare of the Church and "the Interest of Religion & Virtue." The loss of two promising young men by shipwreck is cited as "an incontestable argument for the necessity of American Bishops," who would render unnecessary the long and dangerous trip to England for ordination. "An exact Calculation made not many years ago" showed that not fewer than one out of every five who had gone to England from the northern colonies had perished in the attempt—"ten having miscarried out of Fifty one." The Society was apprised of the efforts of "a great many Independent & Presbyterian Teachers . . . to the number of about Sixty, & many more expected, who call themselves a Synod," and who are exerting every effort to secure incorporation or establishment—all of which will be detrimental to the interests of the Church of England.

The Reverend Samuel Seabury was secretary of this convention; and the original minute book,⁴⁷ containing the annual and voluntary conventions of 1766 and 1767, is in the possession of his descendant, the Honourable Samuel Seabury of New York; and it is the source of our information regarding the New York and New Jersey conventions of those years.

A voluntary, or "occasional," convention was held at King's College, in the city of New York, on the 21st of January, 1767, attended by nine clergymen. Doctor Auchmuty was in the chair. The Reverend Messrs. Inglis and Cooper were thanked for their address to Sir William Johnson; and thanks were voted to the Baronet "for his very obliging & judicious Answer to the said Address; & for his Assurances in favour of the Church." The same clergymen were appointed a committee "to correspond with Sir William, present the same; & continue & cultivate a Correspondence with him." Mr. Cooper submitted his private correspondence with Sir William "relating to an Application to be made for a Grant of Lands for the Support of the Widows & Orphans of Clergymen in America." Doctor Thomas Bradbury Chandler read a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, "containing some animated & just Strictures upon the B^p of Gloucester's unaccountable Sermon before the Society, Anno 1766, which we apprehend will be attended with the most fatal Consequences." Other details were attended to, including the consideration of a letter from St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, relating to local difficulties.

On the 18th of March, 1767, another voluntary convention was

⁴⁷"*The Original Minutes of the Conventions of the Colonial Clergy of New York and New Jersey,*" 1766 and 1767, Samuel Seabury, Secretary. (*The Seabury Minute Book.*) To be published in a later issue.

held—this time in the vestry-room of Trinity Church. Nine clergymen attended. At that occasion the difference between Colonel Phillipse and the Reverend Harry Munro was considered. The former had written Doctor Auchmuty that he would pay his own subscription of twenty pounds for the clergyman's support and use his best endeavours to procure for him as large a subscription from his tenants as possible. This answer did not satisfy Mr. Munro. The convention decided to recommend his case to the Society. A letter was written endorsing the clergyman's character, and recommending that he be removed to some vacant mission.

An "occasional convention" was held at King's College, April 9th, 1767, with seven clergymen on hand. It had been reported that one George Spencer, formerly of New York, had attained ordination in England, with a view of returning to America. Being apprehensive "that great Detriment will accrue to the Interest of the Church, should a person of his Character obtain any Mission or Living in these Provinces," it was agreed to write the Society on the subject, and to insert an advertisement in the newspapers, "in Order to obviate any Suspicions that the Clergy of New York or New Jersey have contributed to said Spencer's obtaining Orders, either by Recommendation or any other Ways." The letter and notice were written. Spencer was reported as standing accused "of many atrocious Crimes."

"We can with Truth affirm, that his general Character in this Country . . . is so odious and detestable, that we can not hold any Correspondence or Intercourse with him, without Ruin to our own Reputation & irreparable Injury to the Church & to Religion in General."

The convention avowed sympathy with the wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, but felt assured that the difficulties would be relieved, "in as much as you have given us the Assurance that you would accept (no clergyman), but such as should bring with him a License from his Lordship"—the Bishop of London. It was decided at this convention that the same be styled henceforth "the United Convention of New York and New Jersey," or "of New Jersey and New York," according to the province in which it was convened.

On the 20th of May, 1767, an annual convention of the New York and New Jersey clergy assembled at Trinity Church, New York. Thirteen were present. Doctor Auchmuty presided; and the Reverend Mr. Charlton preached. Mr. Charlton was elected president for the ensuing year. A rule was adopted that no member withdraw himself from a session of the convention without the president's leave; that

each member address the chair; and no member speak twice on the same subject unless new matter offers. A committee was appointed to examine Mr. William Frazier, applicant for Holy Orders. When the report was received, it was agreed to recommend Mr. Frazier to the Society, and to the congregation of Spotswood, New Jersey, as a lay reader, until an answer was received from the Society; furthermore, the standing committee recommended Mr. Frazier for ordination. A motion was passed that no copy of the minutes of the convention should be given to any person not a member, without a particular order from the convention. When Mr. William Ayers requested a copy of the minutes of the New Jersey convention, pertaining to himself, he was refused; but he was admonished that the convention had received "some Accounts of his irregular Behaviour in reading Prayers in New Jersey, & also Sermons of his own composing; & that, without consulting any of the Clergy of that Province." He was advised to pursue his studies until the next New Jersey Convention; then that body would give him "such Encouragement, as his regular & proper Behaviour shall entitle him to." The Reverend Mr. Lyons laid before the convention a letter from the Society, informing him that it had been resolved to break connections with him. The reasons assigned being only general ones, and not involving accusations against his character, Mr. Lyons had applied for the advice and assistance of the "Board"—convention. It was decided to draw up a letter to the Society, representing the impropriety of continuing Mr. Lyons at Brookhaven, but suggesting that he might be usefully employed elsewhere—"particularly in some of the Southern Colonies." The convention recommended that the Reverend Isaac Browne should be appointed to succeed Doctor Chandler at Elizabeth Town, should he move. As the Reverend Messrs. Cooper and McKean were about to go to Maryland, to secure the co-operation and support of the Governor and the clergy there in the effort to obtain an episcopate for America, letters were drafted introducing those men to Governor Sharp and the Maryland clergy.

Looking back over the conventions of those two years, we are impressed by the wide scope of their activity, by their alertness and efficiency. The members did not hesitate to constitute themselves a clearing house for applications for ordination; they advised regarding vacancies; they championed the cause of worthy clergymen, yet stood ready to prevent the appearance of wolves within the sheepfold. They addressed governors and men of prominence; they protested against utterances on the part of an English bishop. Many affairs now in the hands of diocesan standing committees were undertaken and dispatched. Thus they developed experience in procedure, and were the

better able to assume leadership in the chaos which followed the American Revolution.

VII. NEW ENGLAND CONVENTIONS

The few clergymen who resided in New England had started assembling for mutual advice and fellowship as early as 1725. At a meeting, held at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 21st of July of that year, a letter was drawn up to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, urging the necessity of a resident bishop. The Church of England had encountered strong prejudice and persistent opposition in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and the clergy felt the disadvantage of their position. In their address, they said:—

“We humbly conceive nothing can more effectually redress those grievances and protect us from the insults of our adversaries than an Orthodox and Loyal Bishop residing with us; and at this time are awakened to such a thought by the coming over of Doctor Welton, late of White Chapel, who has privately received the Episcopal character in England, and from whose influences and industry we have reason to fear very unhappy consequences on the peace of the Church and the affections of this country to our most excellent constitution and his most sacred Majesty’s Person and Government. Not only those who profess themselves Churchmen long and pray for this great blessing of a worthy Bishop with us, but also multitudes of those who are well wishers to us, but are kept concealed for want hereof, and immediately appear and form many congregations too. If once this happiness were granted, this would supply us with many useful Ministers from among ourselves, whom the hazards of the seas, and sickness, and the charges of travel discourage from the service of the Church and tempt them to enlist themselves as Members or Ministers of Dissenting Congregation. Our people might receive the great benefit of Confirmation, the usefulness whereof we preach and they are deeply sensible.”

At this meeting of “the New England Clergy,” the Reverend Messrs. Timothy Cutler, James Honyman, James MacSparran, Matthew Plant, George Pigot, and Samuel Johnson were present. An application was also addressed to the King, “for his Gracious Countenance and Protection;” and the Bishop of London, likewise the recipient of an address, was asked to lay the letter before his Majesty.

In their petition to the King, the six clergymen asked redress from the annoyance to which their congregations were subjected, through im-

prisonment for the non-payment of taxes toward the support of the dissenting teachers. The Independents, being more numerous than the members of the Church of England, had forgotten the liberty of conscience stipulated in the Charter, and had "taken upon themselves to pass Laws tending to the very great prejudice and oppression of the members of the Church of England and the rest of the inhabitants of the said Colony." (Here the Massachusetts Bay colony was referred to specifically.) A law had been passed "for the settlement and support of the ministers and schoolmasters," whereby it was enacted that the inhabitants of each town in the province should take due care from time to time to be constantly provided with "an able, learned Orthodox minister of good conversation to dispense the word of God to them, which minister be supported by inhabitants of such town." It was provided that "every minister chosen by the major part of the inhabitants of any town at the town meeting should be the minister of such town, and the whole town obliged to pay towards his maintenance, each man his proportion." By a subsequent law, it was ordained that each respective gathered Church in any town—that is, the Independent meeting—should have power to choose and elect the minister; and he would be the one whose settlement and maintenance would be chargeable to all the inhabitants and ratable estates lying within such town. In those towns, wherein there was no gathered church, the ratable inhabitants should call a meeting, and, with the advice of three neighbouring ordained ministers, choose and call an orthodox, learned, and pious person to dispense the word of God; the people were to be assessed and required to pay in proportion. Also the Independents passed an act "for the settlement and support of ministers," still further strengthening their position. There were means devised to compel Quakers and "others averse to the public worship of God and a learned and orthodox ministry, who found out ways to evade the laws," to pay their share of the Independent minister's support. Other acts were enumerated. The Independents had established their body as the Church of the province, to the subjection of the established Church of England.

"That the said Independents, having passed the aforesaid Laws in direct opposition to their said Charter and to the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom, in order to oppress the Church of England people and other Christian Inhabitants conscientiously differing from the said Inhabitants, and having, by the said Act of 1715, vested an illegal power in themselves of determining who should be ministers under the Qualifications aforesaid, and of appointing Ministers of their own perswasion and imposing them and their maintenances on all

your Majesty's subjects, even those of their Mother Church. To compleat their designs, under the said Laws, they set up themselves for, and acted as, an established Church, and very lately took upon them, as such, to erect a Synod, but which was taken notice and condemned and disallow'd of by your Majesty."

The petitioners avowed that they had laid "a very fair Foundation of instructing great numbers of the Inhabitants there in the Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England . . . and should have made a much greater progress, but for the oppressions and hardships which they continually received from the Independents, which they continue daily to exercise towards your petitioners and all that become members of their congregations, by unwarrantably rating and assessing them for the support and maintenance of the Independent Teachers, and for the repairing and building the Independent Meeting Houses, and in default of payment, by distraining their goods and laying their persons in actual imprisonment, and using all methods possible to discourage the Inhabitants from embracing our government, doctrine, and liturgy, whereby the members of our Churches are miserably distressed by the force and violence that is used upon their Persons and Estates in case of the least refusal or delay to contribute to the support of the dissenting Teachers and their meeting houses."

In laying their grievances before the King, the convention of clergy expressed the hope that he would repeal them, since (1) no national or provincial Church is by said Charter established in the province, but rather an extensive liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists; (2) the acts mentioned set up Independency above the King's other subjects and particularly above the Church of England, and take away liberty of conscience and security of religion, and invade the civil liberties and properties; (3) the General Court has no power to make any laws imposing anything relating to any single form of worship, or assessing the members of one denomination in support of those of another; and (4) great distresses are brought upon Mother Church by the rigid manner of executing the said laws.

While the clergy were very desirous of a resident bishop, they realised that the presence of Doctor Robert Welton in Philadelphia was an embarrassment to their cause. Doctor Welton had received consecration at the hands of the Non-Jurors; and thereby he had identified himself with those who were still loyal to the dispossessed Stuart lines. At least three of the New England clergymen did not attend or have a part in the convention; and two of them joined in a letter to the Bishop of London, excusing themselves on the ground that their

presence and participation might be regarded as presumptuous or disloyal.⁴⁸

On the 2nd of May, 1726, the same six clergymen—Messrs. Cutler, Honyman, MacSparran, Plant, Pigot, and Johnson—with the addition of the Reverend Samuel Myles convened in Boston. A letter was directed to the Bishop of London, acknowledging their great obligation to his Lordship for his “paternal Care and Endeavours to procure a Bishop being sent into these Countrys.” Such a bishop was needed, “to protect us from the Frowns of the Charter Governments. . . . To direct our Conduct in our Charges and to one another. To oblige the unruly and the Insolent to observe their Duty and preserve the Dignity of their Characters. To confirm our Youth and for many other ends and Reasons.”⁴⁹

July 20th, 1727, all the above ministers except Mr. Plant gathered together. Again they complained of the discriminations which they suffered.

“Persons of unquestionable Zeal against us are promoted in all places. The Governour of Rhode Island is a Zealous Anabaptist, and the Lieu^t Governour as Zealous a Quaker: The Laws to bind us to the Support of Dissenting Teachers are yet in force, and executed accordingly; and where any Pretence of Lenity is made it is in such thin Colours as may be easily seen thro; and appears no Security to us from those Hardships our churches have a long time, and do still complain of and groan under.”

The Church of England clergy had not been allowed their rightful voice in the affairs of Harvard College; Yale stood in direct opposition to the Church. Both institutions “strike an Insupportable Damp on the minds of all our Young Students.” Even the attempts of the Anglican clergy to convert the New England Indians had been impeded by the jealousy of the Congregationalists. Their efforts to bring the Sachem of the Narragansett Indians into the Church “has already raised many fierce and unnatural resentments against some of us who are instrumental in the affair, and we fear all possible opposition to us here, and the worst representation of the case before the Society, and wherever else any possible assistance may be expected.”⁵⁰

The New England clergy continued to hold their conventions. The burdens which they endured was a recurrent theme of their address to the Society and the Bishop of London. Sometimes the recommenda-

⁴⁸Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 191-200.

⁴⁹Fulham MSS., *Massachusetts, Box I., #141* (*Library of Congress transcript*).

⁵⁰Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 225.

tions took in local and immediate needs, such as the want of a resident missionary at Westerly, Rhode Island, and the advantages of appointing a minister to that field.⁵¹

In May, 1738, the members of the Church of England petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly, regarding their failure to share in certain funds. An act had been passed at New Haven, whereby the money raised from the sale of the land in seven townships laid out in the western part of the colony was appropriated to schools or to the support of Congregationalist or Presbyterian ministers, to be divided in such a way as to preclude the Church of England schools and ministers from any benefits. Another act had been passed, by which the public money from the last emission would be appropriated to the support of the Congregationalist ministers. The memorial urged that the Church of England should have received its share. 636 males—all above the age of sixteen—signed the petition; and the same was referred to the October session. At that time, both houses resolved in the negative.

On the 29th of March, 1739, seven clergymen joined in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, describing the measures which had been taken by the Independents to discriminate against the Church of England. They told of the disposition of the receipts from the land sale and the refusal of the General Assembly to allot the Church a share in the same; and they mentioned certain flagrant examples of abuse. For instance, a London gentleman had donated land in New Haven to the Reverend Jonathan Arnold, as trustee; an Anglican church was to be built on the property. When Arnold started to take possession, however, "a great number of people . . . beat his cattle and abused his servants, threatening both his and their lives to that degree that he was obliged to quit the field."

"Upon the whole we have abundant Reason to conclude from the Treatment we meet with, That it is the Design of this Government, not only to prevent the Growth of the Church in this Colony, but even utterly to destroy it in its Infancy, which we fear they will be able in a great Measure to accomplish if they have no Check from a Superior Authority at Home. We do therefore most humbly beseech the Hon^{ble} Society, to take Notice of the oppressed Condition of our People, & (if they in their great Wisdom & Goodness shall think proper) to lay it before the King and Council, or otherwise, if possible to devise some Method for our Relief."⁵²

⁵¹*Perry: Historical Collections, Massachusetts, pp. 291-292. (May 23, 1733).*

⁵²*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, I., 166-169; S. P. G. B-Series, VII., Part I, 23-26 (Library of Congress transcript).*

The Connecticut clergy, assembled at Fairfield, August 24th, 1742, addressed the Bishop of London on their difficulties. Again they mentioned "the want of a Bishop to reside among us" as "a very great obstruction to the propagation of religion in this remote part of the world." They expressed their gratitude, however, for the Bishop's good offices to the Church in appointing commissaries, and suggested that such a representative be appointed for their colony. The Reverend Samuel Johnson was named as worthy of consideration. All the missionaries of Connecticut signed the request for a commissary—or at least supported it—with one exception. But no commissary was appointed.⁵³

With the increasing desire for a resident bishop, the conventions of the New England clergy became more frequent. On the 5th of June, 1765, the Connecticut ministers, convened at Hebron, addressed the Bishop of London, urging the appointment of one or more bishops for the colonies. They also enclosed a petition to the King in the hope of furthering their object. For some time they had held annual meetings on the Wednesday following Trinity Sunday; but how long this practice had continued is uncertain.⁵⁴ On the 5th of September, the Connecticut clergy "accidentally convened;" at that time they assured the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that they and the members of their congregations had remained loyal notwithstanding the great commotions which had arisen because of the Stamp Act. Their people esteemed it "nothing short of rebellion to speak evil of dignities, and to avow opposition to this last act of Parliament."⁵⁵

The clerical conventions in Massachusetts had been allowed to lapse into irregularity; but in September, 1765, those who followed the remains of Doctor Timothy Cutler to the grave met at the house of the Reverend Henry Caner, and determined to hold annual conventions, with a view to promoting mutual love and harmony—"for the purpose of cultivating a brotherly affection, and of supporting each other with united counsels, under any difficulty or embarrassment that may happen to take place, in any particular parish." Caner, as the senior clergyman of the province, assumed the leadership.⁵⁶

The first convention of the Massachusetts clergy, in pursuance of this plan, was held in Boston, June 1st, 1766. Fourteen ministers were

⁵³*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, I., 181-182.*

⁵⁴*Fulham MSS., Connecticut, #30, #62 (Library of Congress transcript).*

⁵⁵*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, II., 81.*

⁵⁶*Fulham MSS., Massachusetts, Box I., #153 (Library of Congress transcript).*

present; Caner presided. A service was held in King's Chapel; and a dinner followed, at which the Governor of the province was present. "We made something of an appearance for this Country when we walked together in our Gowns and Cassocks," said one of the participants.⁵⁷

The Connecticut clergy convened at Wallingford, May 28th of that year. It was voted to acquaint the Bishop of London "with the Conduct of y^e Chhs. in these difficult times; and also concerning y^e taking away Children from the God Fathers." The convention expressed a desire to unite with the clergy of New York and New Jersey. Mr. Abraham Beach, a graduate of Yale, was recommended to the Bishop for ordination. The next convention was appointed for New Haven, the second Wednesday in October.⁵⁸

The Connecticut clergy met on the 8th of October, but at Stratford instead of New Haven. A letter was written to the Bishop of London, lamenting "that it should not be in the power of his Grace and your Lordship, and all the other friends to the Church and true Religion that are left, to have so much Interest & influence in it as to procure a worthy Protestant Bishop or two, in some of these Colonies, especially since the Roman Catholics are so happy as to be indulged with a popish one, & the Moravians with theirs, & the presbyterians &c. have the full enjoyment of their way of Government & Discipline, & the poor Church of England is considered by them with contempt, that she cannot enjoy hers; nor indeed so much as a shadow of anything that can be called Ecclesiastical Government." The fact that some of the principal colonies do not desire bishops, they averred, was in fact the strongest reason for sending bishops over, since they had never had any ecclesiastical government or order, and among them the cause of religion had sunk to the lowest ebb and some of their clergy were neglecting their duties and leading unworthy lives. Twelve clergymen, including Doctor Samuel Johnson as president of the convention, signed the address.⁵⁹

The Massachusetts and Rhode Island clergy, "both missionaries and others," met in convention June 17th, 1767; and reported to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel "some few things relative to these Churches."

⁵⁷Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 524.

⁵⁸*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, III., 56-57.

⁵⁹Fulham MSS., Connecticut, #23 (*Library of Congress transcript*); *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, II., 100-102.

"In general the missions of these Governments are in a laudable State, but we are sorry to say that Christ Church in Boston is still affected & greatly suffers by the divisions that prevail in it."

They stated that the Church at Cambridge was unsettled since the former rector's resignation, but was "now happily supplied by the arrival of the Rev^d Mr Sargent." The missionary at Lyons was "labouring very diligently & not with^t good Success;" he was also serving at Bridgewater and Middleborough. An incumbent was suggested for the proposed mission at Georgetown on the Kennebec River. After describing the state of the Church in the province, the address included a plea for the Society's influence in obtaining bishops for America.

"We flattered ourselves that such an extensive territory as was heretofore possessed & hath since been added to the British Dominions by the last war would certainly have been followed by some provision of this kind, but especially the late popular tumults in these colonies we imagined would have strongly pointed out the necessity of such a step towards the uniting and attaching the colonies to the mother Country and have silenced every objection that could be raised against it."⁶⁰

When the Massachusetts clergy convened in Boston, September 22nd, 1768, they reported to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the general state of the churches was as good as might reasonably be expected under present troubles.

"All that we are able to do in these times is only to cultivate among the people committed to our care a spirit of peace & patience under the various insults to which they are exposed for refusing to join in the popular clamours that now prevail. We are neither allowed to speak nor scarcely to be silent unless we join with those whom we believe to be laboring the destruction of our constitution, civil & religious. The civil government is too weak to afford us protection; & ecclesiastical superior we have none on this side of the Atlantic, from whom we may receive timely advice or direction under our present trials. We can only look up to God & cast ourselves upon the divine Providence for protection & for a happy issue to our distress."⁶¹

On May 29th, 1771, a Connecticut clergy convention renewed its plea for a bishop. The clergy were still hopeful of receiving the same; and they felt that the Church was in a precarious position through the lack of an American episcopate.⁶²

⁶⁰Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 530-532.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 541.

⁶²*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, II.*, 176-177.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In reviewing the gatherings of the clergy during the colonial period, we are driven to certain observations.

1. The conventions were more or less informal. This was to be expected, since the conventions lacked authority and remained voluntary meetings to the very end. No one was empowered to enforce their resolutions. Only the commissaries—and all the colonies did not fall under the commissarial jurisdiction—were vested with official powers; and even the commissaries found their position circumscribed by local conditions, political supervision, and the difficulties incident to their distance from the See of London.

2. Commissarial visitations were not the same as voluntary conventions; yet there was much in common. The visitation started with a stimulating charge or sermon. Parochial reports were presented; thus the clergyman's work was brought under inspection. There was opportunity for free discussion, for the exchange of ideas, and for the cultivation of fraternal relations.

3. In those colonies in which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts supported the missionaries and their work, the clergy were directly accountable to the Society. They were required to submit semi-annual reports of their activities. The voluntary conventions, therefore, had no right to demand parochial statements from the clergy attending; nevertheless brief reports were sometimes submitted, and cognisance was taken of local problems, vacant fields, and opportunities for missionary enterprise. Several times the Society and the Bishop of London were apprised of the needs of a particular locality through the communications of the conventions.

4. Unjust advantages, discrimination, political oppression, and financial difficulties loomed large in the discussion and deliberations of the conventions. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that in several of the colonies the Church suffered a tremendous handicap, and the ministers were the victims of a ruthless policy. Governors were not always friendly; and there was no resident bishop to take a firm stand on behalf of Church and clergy.

5. The conventions were by no means motivated exclusively by self-protection. The extension of the Church among the Indians, the instruction of the negroes, loyalty to the Crown, and the cultivation of godly living among the people, all these had an important place in the discussions.

6. The conventions were training schools; notwithstanding their irregularity and infrequency, they paved the way for the future gen-

eral and diocesan conventions. Thereby the clergy learned the value of assembling together; they found that there was strength in presenting a united front. They gained practice in parliamentary procedure. They acquired an independence of action.

7. The conventions were not more frequent prior to the Revolutionary War, largely because the clergy lacked the pressing and compelling incentive to convocation, and to a lesser degree because of the lack of strong leadership in certain colonies. The stipends of the missionaries were pretty well assured; and the clergy recognised their accountability to the Society and to their ecclesiastical superiors back home rather than to each other. The utmost in their power was to draw up petitions and lay their grievances before the Bishop of London, the Society, and the King, or else plead with the provincial assemblies; but they had no executive authority. Aside from the desire for brotherly intercourse and mutual inspiration, there was usually no urgent cause for the gatherings; hence they often lapsed.

Affairs were quite different in the Church as organised after the colonies became independent. Then the Church was thrown upon its own resources; it could no longer look to the mother country for maintenance and support; it could not expect help from the national or state government. Conventions were necessary for the regulation of its affairs, fiscal as well as spiritual. Furthermore, the Episcopal Church, as an incorporated institution, was vested with power and authority; the deliberations of its conventions did not terminate as discussions and petitions, but could body themselves into constitutional provisions and canonical legislation. Hence the convention became and has remained a continuous and organic feature of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. None the less, the convention of to-day is a lineal descendant of the old-time voluntary convocation and commissarial visitation.

THE MAKING OF THE CHURCH'S
CONSTITUTION

1782 - 1789

THE STATE OR DIOCESAN CONVENTIONS OF
THE WAR AND POST-WAR PERIODS

By Walter Herbert Stowe

THE INTERSTATE MEETINGS AND GENERAL
CONVENTIONS OF 1784, 1785, 1786 AND 1789

By William Wilson Manross

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IN its wider sense, the "making" of the Church's constitution had its roots in the Anglican heritage of the American Episcopal Church and in the colonial background, particularly through the conventions of the colonial clergy and other measures of corporate action. In the narrower or technical sense of conscious efforts to formulate a written instrument as a bond of unity and corporate life and to secure its acceptance by the various units of the Church most vitally concerned, the "making" of the Church's constitution can be rather definitely dated as being between 1782 and 1789. It is in this narrower or technical sense that the term is here used.

Because there was action and reaction between the state or diocesan¹ conventions on the one hand, and the interstate or general conventions on the other; and because the latter reflected in large measure the convictions, principles and opinions of the former; the history of the state or diocesan conventions is properly a part of the process of the "making" of the Church's constitution.

I. CONVENTIONS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

It used to be a matter of some surprise that a Church which was not supposed to be trained in corporate action and which is generally admitted to have suffered more by the Revolutionary War than any other in America, could have adjusted itself to such changed conditions, organized itself, and produced such an admirable constitution for its American environment. But Dr. Pennington has placed us in his debt by marshalling the surprising amount of evidence, hitherto little known, which shows that the Church, especially in the North, was not untrained in corporate action and had developed some telling leadership.

Moreover, new evidence has come to light which shows that even during the war, the clergy of Connecticut held an astonishing number

¹The terms "diocese" and "diocesan" were not a part of the constitution of the Episcopal Church, and, therefore, were not officially used, until 1838. Up to that time it was the "Church in the State of A or B". See below: Dr. Norwood's article, "Constitutional Developments Since 1789".

of conventions. Through the opportune cataloging of the Jarvis Papers in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library,² we now have available the minutes of the conventions of the Connecticut clergy for September 21, 1774; June 4-6, 1776; July 23, 1776; May 23-25, 1780; June 12-14, 1781; June 18, 1783; and in addition to those of June 8, 1784, and August 2, 1785, first published five years ago,³ the following of the Post-War period: May 30, 1787, and September 15-16, 1789. These will be considered in due order in this article. While they are not as full in some particulars as we might wish, they nevertheless cast revealing light upon the critical conditions which "tried men's souls."

1. IN CONNECTICUT: 1774-1781

At a convention held at Norwalk, September 21, 1774, the Connecticut clergy (no names are listed and no other business is recorded) drew up a public statement, defending themselves against the growing violence of their opponents. "We have had much laid to our Charge, and have been industriously held up to view, as entertaining and propagating Principles unfriendly to the Charter Rights and Privileges, and subversive of the Laws of this Colony." They proceed "to lay before the public the Sentiments of this Convention; and to exculpate ourselves from what we apprehend unjust Censure laid upon particular Instances of our Conduct."

They assert that they are not only "Friends to Government in its general Idea," but they "bear good Affection, and real Attachment to the Government, as it is settled in and administered to, the Charter Rights and Privileges of this Colony;" and they "warmly wish its Preservation and hope interruptedly to enjoy it."

Regretting and lamenting, on the one hand, the interruption of "the due Operation of Law" by "illegal intestine Commotions and Broils," or "any Infringement of superior Authority" on the other, "yet any Measures to redress actual Grievances, or ward off impending Ones, which the Laws of God, or the Realm authorize, we believe and maintain are justified to be taken."

To the particular charge that they had not celebrated "Divine Service on the Fast of the 31. of August last," they answer that they are not aware that such omission was a "Breach of any Laws of this Colony."

²See, "*A Description of the Manuscript Collections in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library*", *Historical Records Survey*, WPA, Boston, 1939, pp. 21-22.

³The original minutes of 1784 and 1785, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Howard C. Robbins of the General Theological Seminary, New York City, were published in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, III. (March, 1934), pp. 57-64. Verbatim copies of the other convention minutes listed above will be published in a subsequent issue.

"The Dissenters in England hold themselves exempt from observing the Days appointed by the national Church, and enjoin'd by the whole Authority of the Kingdom: The Rights of Conscience are here pleaded, and their Brethren in America allow the Validity of the Plea; and yet will not allow that they are on that Account, worse Subjects in the State, or less Friends to the Constitution of the Kingdom; and we see no good Argument why the same should not be granted in full Force to us, and we exempt from the contrary Inference. We claim in this Case the Rights of Conscience, and the Acceptance of this Claim rests upon the common Right we have to be believ'd."

They conclude by declaring their "Innocence as to the Charge, founded on mere Surmise, of our writing Things Home that are inflammatory and obnoxious to the good of the Colony." In writing to the Society or persons in England, "we have not made, nor are we disposed to make Political Matters, or any of the Controversies now subsisting, our Concernment, . . . but have adhered only to our Clerical Character and Office."

On June 4, 1776, ten of the Connecticut clergy again convened in convention at Waterbury.⁴ Abraham Jarvis was elected president and John Sayre, secretary *pro tempore*, the stated secretary being absent. We do not know who the stated secretary was. A service and sermon were regular items in each convention program, sometimes more than one, the preacher and his substitute being assigned a year in advance. The principal business of this convention was the adoption of a plan whereby the vacant congregations in Connecticut—Litchfield, Danbury, Sharon, and Hebron—might be provided with four services a year, divided among sixteen clergymen, each taking one service. Even in such troublous days there were a few who had the courage to seek Holy Orders in the then unpopular Church. John Nichols of Waterbury was the candidate and the convention subscribed to "recommendatory Letters in his Favor to the Society and to the Lord Bishop of London." If ordained, he never appears to have served in the American Church. Before adjourning to meet a year hence, a Standing Committee consisting of James Scovil, Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, Abraham Jarvis, and John Sayre, was appointed. Thus we see how firmly rooted in American history and experience is that institution, peculiar to the Episcopal Church, the Standing Committee.

But critical events necessitated another convention in less than two months. From July 23-25, 1776, the clergy met in New Haven in Bela

⁴The others, besides Jarvis and Sayre, were: James Scovil, Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, Richard Clarke, Daniel Fogg, Gideon Bostwick, John R. Marshall, James Nichols.

Hubbard's house. Eight of the Connecticut clergy and John Bowden of New York attended.⁵ Jarvis was again president and Sayre secretary *pro tempore*. The Declaration of Independence of July 4th precipitated a crisis for all Anglican clergy, and this convention "proceeded to consider what Measures will be most proper and prudent for them to adopt for y^e Promotion & Preservation of Peace and Security of the Congregations under their care."

On July 24th, after canvassing "the Sentiments of the Convention" as to whether they could "go on as usual in the Performance of Divine Service in our Churches consistently with the general benefit of the Church and our own personal Security, considering the Declaration of Independency (sic) . . . it was unanimously resolved that we cannot."

Jarvis as president then moved for the sense of the convention as to "whether it is in our Power to make or submit to any alterations in the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law established, consistently with our duty and our Solemn obligations." The answer was in the negative. Since their actions in this matter were fairly general among the Anglican clergy in the North, and since the reasons which actuated them in their course are not generally understood, and since their statement of them is the best we have ever found, we give them here in full:

"1st. Because at the time of our Ordination, we Solemnly bound ourselves by Oaths, Promises and Subscriptions that we would use the form of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments provided in the Book of Common Prayer and none other: as will appear from a Perusal of the Oath contained in the Offices for the ordination of Priests & Deacons and the three Articles contained in the 36th Canon.

2^{ly}. Because we being only Presbyters in the Church are not by any means invested with authority sufficient to entitle us to make any Mutilations or Alterations, either in her Government or Worship—and if we should attempt it we apprehend we should attempt a Sacrilegious invasion of the Authority and privilege of a Superior Order.

3^{ly}. Because should we make or submit to any alterations as above mentioned we should incur the Penalties denounced in the 38th Canon viz. Suspension, Excommunication and Deposition.

But they did not intend to leave their people spiritually destitute.

⁵The others besides Jarvis and Sayre from Connecticut were: Richard Mansfield, Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, Richard Clarke, John R. Marshall and James Scovil.

"For the Spiritual comfort and emolument of their People" they agreed—

"That if we should open our churches and read the Holy Scriptures, together with some approved practical Commentaries on them; read the Homilies or other orthodox Sermons published by Divines of our Church, or any pious Tracts which may be thought most proper for the perfect State of the Church, to examine the Children in their Catechism and read approved Lectures thereon, and also to continue all the occasional Services when requisite (except the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which we think should only be used for the present in the Chambers of y^e Sick), it will have a tendency to promote a great part of y^e general intentions of public religious incitings & that the retired devotions of the people may make up in a great measure for the unavoidable deficiencies—and that such a mode of procedure will preserve us in a conscience void of offence towards God & towards man."

On July 26th, after determining to acquaint the absent brethren of Connecticut and those of the conventions of New York and New Jersey with their proceedings, the convention adjourned.

If any Connecticut conventions were held between 1776 and 1780, the records have not yet been found. The next of which we have minutes is that of May 23-25, 1780, at Derby, the cure of Richard Mansfield. Seven of the clergy were present. Richard Clarke was president, James Scovil, chaplain, and Abraham Jarvis, secretary. The others, besides those named, were Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, and John R. Marshall.

The convention took into consideration "the Sentiments & Doctrines lately adopted by the Rev^d M^r Tyler" of Norwich, and the next day—

"It was agreed that a conventional Letter be wrote to M^r Tyler, expressive of their Concern at his Deviation from the Doctrines of the Chh. and their Apprehensions of the Tendency and Consequ^s that it will have upon the Chh. in general, with respect to her Interest, Union and Harmony: and as advisory relative to what is tho't prudential as to his Conduct: and what they as his Brethren in the Ministry desire and expect from him."

From these minutes we do not know what Tyler's derelictions were, but from one of his own letters⁶ we can make a fairly accurate deduction. In July 1776, upon the vote of his parishioners, Tyler had closed the Norwich church rather than omit the prayer for the King;

⁶See, Beardsley, E. E., "*History of the Episcopal Church in Conn.*," Vol. I., pp. 320-321.

but on November 27, 1778, at a meeting of his Anglican parishioners, "the people voted almost unanimously to open the church, omitting the prayers for the King and Parliament." Tyler's reasons for so doing were:

"That the cause of religion ought not to be annihilated on a civil account; that public worship was of too much consequence to be totally omitted on account of a few words in a liturgy; that my obligations, though binding at first, could not be so to use the whole Liturgy now, when matters were so much altered. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and so may exist without the civil powers: an obligation that becomes wrong, or impossible to adhere to, is of course null and void."

Scovil, Hubbard and Jarvis were the committee to draft the letter to Tyler which, however, is not given in the minutes; but was read to and approved by the convention and signed by the secretary.

Tyler's course was later approved by the Society and by the Bishop of London. Under date of December 3, 1781, writing from London, Dr. Thomas B. Chandler wrote Abraham Beach of New Brunswick:⁷

"The state of your case and that of the Connecticut clergy, I presented to the Society and to the Bishop of London. Though they did not choose to give a *formal* answer in this kind of *casuistry*, yet they authorized me to assure all parties concerned that, under the present situation of affairs, the use of the Liturgy, with omitting the prayers for the King, provided others for the Congress were not substituted in their place, would not meet with their censure or disapprobation. Of this I desired Mr. Cooke to inform you, as he tells me he did; but as you seem to be desirous of having it immediately from me, I now give it to you under my own hand and seal.

"The *Canons* of the Church must for the present, give way to the CANNON of Congress; and *strict regularity* of conduct is the business of *regular* times. In the meanwhile, an honest man will not give up his *principles*; and while he is not able to fulfill the *letter* of the law, he will be careful not to counteract the *spirit* of it."

Three laymen waited on this convention and requested the clergy to supply the destitute church at Milford. The convention accordingly fixed a schedule of services of once a month with the clergy serving in rotation.

⁷S. A. Clark, "History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, N. J.", 1857, p. 199.

Mr. Philo Shelton was entered on the minutes as a candidate for Holy Orders. He was later one of the first four clergymen ever to be ordained in the American Episcopal Church—all four being ordained by Bishop Seabury at the same time and place, August 3, 1785, at Middletown, Conn.

At the convention held at Litchfield, January 12-14, 1781, ten clergymen were present⁸. Roger Viets was president, Samuel Andrews, chaplain, and Abraham Jarvis, secretary. If any business of importance was transacted, it was not recorded in the minutes. Perhaps the war situation was too uncertain for any unusual action. Cornwallis' recent successes in the South, during the year 1780, appeared to give the Loyalists the edge. That conventions were being held must have been known since Mr. Nichols of Northbury and Cambridge brought in a petition from the people of Cornwall "for the Approbation of the Convention, that M^r Allen a young Gentleman of that Town should read Prayers & Sermons to them." This proposal the Convention approved and encouraged the young man to believe that if he qualified himself, they would nominate him for Holy Orders, "should the State of the Public admit of their so doing."

The convention voted to meet at Middletown on Wednesday in Trinity Week, 1782, but no minutes of that meeting, if held, have been found.

2. IN MARYLAND⁹

In 1776 the establishment of the state government of Maryland deprived the clergy of their legal support which they had enjoyed for three generations. Moreover, they were forbidden to preach or otherwise officiate in the ministry unless they took the required oath to the new state in violation of part of their ordination vows. Of the 44 rectors and 10 or more curates, some 24 resigned their parishes and seven more subsequently died. In 1780, of 47 parishes ministered to by 25 clergymen, 17 were vacant.

In 1779 the General Assembly of Maryland passed the "Vestry Act" for electing vestries in the existing parishes and giving to such vestries in fee simple, the glebes, churches and other church property, and the appointment of ministers, but making no provision for their support. Such was the Erastianism of the day that it was proposed in the Assembly that the Church be organized by legislative enactment, and ordainers be appointed for supplying the ranks of the clergy. This

⁸*The others than those mentioned were: Richard Mansfield, James Scovil, Bela Hubbard, John Tyler, Richard Clarke, John R. Marshall and James Nichols.*

⁹*For the Maryland conventions of 1780, 1781 and 1782, see: Dr. Ethan Allen's accounts, appended to the Maryland Diocesan Journal of 1878, pp. 138-154.*

latter proposal was prevented through the efforts of the Rev. Samuel Keene of St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's County, who appeared before the Assembly and pleaded against it.

On November 9, 1780, three clergymen (Keene, Dr. William Smith, and James Jones Wilmer) and 24 laymen assembled in convention at Charlestown, Kent County. Dr. Smith was president and Wilmer secretary.

"A petition to the General Assembly of Maryland for the support of public religion was then read and approved, and ordered to be sent to each Vestry in the State; and if by them approved, after obtaining signatures in their respective parishes, it was to be carried up to the legislature."

It was at this gathering that Wilmer "proposed that the Church known in this province as Protestant be called 'the Protestant Episcopal Church,' and it was so adopted." This appears to have been the first use by a church assembly of the name the American Episcopal Church has since borne.

Dr. Allen found in certain vestry records under date of April 5, 1781, that deputies were appointed "to meet at Chestertown such other gentlemen appointed by the vestries on the Eastern Shore, to petition the General Assembly of the State to pass an act for the maintenance of the Gospel agreeable to the present constitution of Government." But it is not certainly known that the meeting was held.

From a letter of the Rev. James Jones Wilmer to Bishop Claggett, dated May 6, 1810, a meeting of the clergy and laity on the same subject took place in 1782 on the Western Shore in Baltimore, but no minutes have survived.

II. "THE CASE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERED"

Active fighting between the colonies and the mother country practically ceased with Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. But it was over a year—November 30, 1782—before the preliminary articles of peace were agreed to, and almost two years before the definitive Treaty of Peace was signed—September 3, 1783. For almost a year then after Cornwallis' surrender, it seemed unlikely that Great Britain would recognize the independence of the United States for a long time to come, following the precedent of Spain and the revolting Dutch Republic.

On August 6, 1782, a pamphlet by a young presbyter thirty-four years old was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet*. Its title was *The*

Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered,¹⁰ and the author was William White. Both were to have a profound influence upon the making of the constitution of the American Episcopal Church.

A succinct summary of this influential pamphlet must here suffice. After stating that members of the Episcopal churches "are not a little anxious to see some speedy and decisive measures adopted for its continuance" and that "all good men must lament the cessation of public worship, which happened to many of the Episcopal Churches, and threatens to become universal," Dr. White lays down certain postulates:

1. The connection between the Episcopal Churches in America and the Bishop of London "is dissolved by the revolution," and American Churchmen must no longer be dependent upon a foreign jurisdiction.

2. In the Southern states where the Episcopal Church had been established by law, the establishments have been abolished.

3. The future continuance of the churches "can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government."

4. Since "all denominations of Christians are on a level" before the law, complete separation of church and state is to prevail, the church is to be independent of the state, and is to avoid "whatever may give the churches the appearance of being subservient to party."

5. Since the exercise of the lay voice in ecclesiastical affairs through Parliament is now impossible, the direct representation of the laity in the councils of the Church as a fundamental principle of its organization is proposed.

He next expounds the principle of "the equality of the churches; and not, as in England, the subjection of all parish churches to their respective cathedrals;" and, further, that in any association of churches, each church shall retain "every power that need not be delegated to the whole."

Then follows in Chapter III White's "sketch of a frame of government" which outlines the diocese, the province, and the General Convention, substantially as we have them today.

The Diocese: "In each smaller district, there shall be a general vestry or convention, consisting of a convenient num-

¹⁰An accessible reprint is to be found in Perry's "Reprints", Vol. III., pp. 416-435. An extended exposition, with copious quotations from it, will be found in the writer's chapter, "The Presbyterian", in "The Life and Letters of Bishop White", pp. 63-76. Also, HIST. MAG., VI., pp. 64-77.

ber (the minister to be one) from the vestry or congregation of each church”

The Province: “The assemblies in the three larger districts may consist of a convenient number of members, sent from each of the smaller districts within their bounds, equally composed of clergy and laity . . . the presiding clergyman to be always one, and these bodies to meet once in every year.”

The General Convention: “The continental representative body may consist of a convenient number from each of the larger districts, formed equally of clergy and laity, and among the clergy, formed equally of presiding ministers and others; to meet steadily once in three years.”

Concerning the province, White was 130 years ahead of his time, for it did not make its appearance in the Constitution until 1913. And the deputies to General Convention have never been elected by the provinces but by the dioceses. But who can say that in view of the great size and growing unwieldiness of General Convention, this development may not some day take place?

Chapter IV of *The Case* is taken up with a discussion of Episcopacy, including a very skillful defence of it in a republic, but since the episcopal “succession cannot at present be had”, he proposes the continuation of the ministry without it *for the time being*. The last two chapters, V and VI, are devoted to justifying “a departure from the principles of the Church of England” for a season; but once his premise, “the episcopate cannot be had,” is not accepted or is proved untrue, his whole argument in the last chapters falls to the ground. White admitted this, and this explains his withdrawal of the pamphlet when the first intimations of peace with the mother country reached him, immediately after it was first advertised for sale.

III. STATE CONVENTIONS OF 1783

1. IN CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK

White’s *Case* was almost as influential in what was rejected as in what was accepted. It galvanized the Connecticut clergy into action. They would not accept for one moment his premise, “the episcopate cannot be had.” Four months after the preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris (November 30, 1782), but five months before the definitive Treaty of Peace (September 3, 1783), ten of the fourteen clergymen still in Connecticut gathered in convention at Woodbury on March 25, 1783. This famous “voluntary convention” (Jarvis’ designation of it) has been called a “secret meeting.” This is not an

accurate statement of the facts. The meeting was not secret. It was, as we have seen, one of a series of conventions of the Connecticut clergy held before and during the war, no one of which appears to have been held secretly. Not even all of the business was kept secret. They were alarmed over White's *Case* and the convention instructed the secretary, Abraham Jarvis, "to express our opinion of the mistaken and dangerous tendency of the pamphlet" which he accordingly did in a long letter to White.¹¹ They rejected White's proposal for continuing the ministry without bishops on the plea of necessity—"that the episcopate cannot be had."

"Can we plead necessity with any propriety, till we have tried to obtain an Episcopate, and have been rejected? We conceive the present to be a more favourable opportunity for the introduction of bishops, than this country has before seen. However dangerous bishops formerly might have been thought to the civil rights of these states, this danger has now vanished, for such superiors will have no civil authority. They will be purely ecclesiastics. . . . No danger, then, can now be feared from bishops, but such as may be feared from presbyters. . . . And on the other hand, is there any reason to believe, that all the bishops in England, and in all the other reformed Churches in Europe, are so totally lost to a sense of their duty, and to the real wants of their brethren in the Episcopal Church here, as to refuse to ordain bishops to preside over us, when a proper application shall be made to them for it?"

The convention then proceeded to test out their belief and to secure an answer to their questions by making out what they considered a proper application. And this was the part of their business which they kept "a profound secret even from their most intimate Friends of the Laity" for some time, and from White for over a year. The minutes of this convention have not been found, but from correspondence which has survived,¹² the convention designated two as their nominees for the episcopate, and authorized Jarvis as secretary to persuade one of them to accept. The two selected were Jeremiah Leaming and Dr. Samuel Seabury, both refugees at the time in New York. The former was Connecticut's outstanding presbyter; the latter had been born there but his ministry had been spent in New Jersey and New

¹¹See in full, White's "Memoirs", 2nd Ed., pp. 282-286; DeCosta ed., pp. 336-340. The letter is dated Woodbury, March 25, 1783.

¹²Accessible copies are: (1) *Letters of Daniel Fogg, of Pomfret, Conn., to Samuel Parker, of Boston: Perry's "Reprints", III., 214-216*; (2) *Letters of Jarvis and others to the Archbishop of York, ibid., pp. 224-228*; (3) *Bp. Seabury's letter to Dr. Morice, of the S. P. G., ibid., pp. 242-244*; (4) *HIST. MAG., I., p. 131, Leaming to Peters.*

York. Leaming declined the tendered offer, but Seabury agreed to go to England at his own expense and seek consecration. Jarvis' letter to the Archbishop of York¹³ was dated New York, April 21, 1783. Shortly after May 24th, 1783, Seabury sailed for England.

In the meantime the Connecticut clergy had the moral and active support of the clergy then in New York, 18 in all, including refugee clergymen from other states—New Jersey, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland—who held a convention on March 26, 1783.¹⁴ They addressed two letters to Sir Guy Carleton, governor of New York, requesting him to ask for the appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia, now populated with refugees of both clergy and laity, and another for the United States. The convention suggested Dr. Thomas B. Chandler, then in England, for Nova Scotia, and endorsed Connecticut's choice of Dr. Seabury for the United States. Several of the clergy present later signed Seabury's testimonials to the Archbishop of York.

On June 18, 1783, a second Connecticut convention of that year was held at Simsbury, the minutes of which are among those recently discovered.¹⁵ Ten clergymen were present, Fogg was president and Marshall secretary. Jarvis was absent. Unfortunately we do not know from the minutes or otherwise what business was transacted. Whatever it was, it took three hours, from 8 to 11 a. m., and we may assume that communications from Jarvis, detailing the outcome of his mission, were read and discussed.

2. IN MARYLAND

The imminence of peace stirred the Church in Maryland to corporate action. During the first annual commencement of Washington college, Chestertown, May 12-15, 1783, sundry of the clergy being present, they petitioned the General Assembly that the clergy might have leave to consult on the Church's welfare.¹⁶ The petition was granted.

On August 13, 1783, fifteen clergymen but no laymen assembled at Annapolis. Dr. William Smith was president, William West, secretary. They adopted a "Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Liberties" which may be summarized as follows:¹⁷

¹³*The see of Canterbury was then vacant, Dr. John Moore not being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury until April 26th, 1783.*

¹⁴*J. W. Lydekker, "The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis", p. 219, where the full list of the clergy in attendance is given.*

¹⁵*Mass. Diocesan Library, Boston. Those present were: James Scovil, Samuel Andrews, Roger Viets, Bela Hubbard, Richard Clarke, John Tyler, Gideon Bostwick, Daniel Fogg, John R. Marshall, James Nichols.*

¹⁶*Ethan Allen, Maryland Diocesan Journal, 1778, pp. 148-150; Perry, III., pp. 20-21.*

¹⁷*Perry, ibid., III., pp. 22-27, for the Declaration in full.*

1. It is the undoubted right of the Protestant Episcopal Church "to compleat and preserve herself as an *entire* Church," "and to have the free Enjoyment and free Exercise of those purely *spiritual powers*," which "are to be maintained *independent* of every *foreign* or other jurisdiction."

2. "That an *Episcopal Ordination* and *Commission* are necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments, and the due exercise of the *Ministerial Functions* of the said Church."

3. It is "an essential Right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church to have and enjoy the Continuance of the said *three orders of Ministers* forever, so far as concerns Matters *purely spiritual*" and only those episcopally ordained should be admitted into "any of the churches, chapels, or glebes or other property formerly belonging to the Church of England."

4. "That it is the right . . . of the said Church, when duly organized, constituted, and represented in a Synod or Convention of the different orders of her Ministry and People, to revise her Liturgy, Forms of prayer, and public Worship, in order to adapt the same to the late Revolution, and other local Circumstances of America"

They then addressed a letter to Governor William Paca of Maryland, who was a Churchman, enclosing a copy of the above Declaration and asking his advice as to the need of the General Assembly's approval. Paca replied that it was unnecessary, since "every Denomination of Clergy are to be deemed adequate Judges of their own spiritual Rights, and of the ministerial Commission and Authority necessary to the due Administration of the Ordinances of Religion among themselves."

The clergy then proceeded to elect Dr. Smith as bishop of Maryland and on August 16, 1783, signed his testimonial to the Bishop of London. He was never consecrated.

Governor Paca knew how to distinguish between his official and his private opinions, between his office as governor and his office as a layman of the Church. Under date of September 12, 1783, he wrote a letter to General Joseph Reed wherein he reflects an attitude which is probably typical of that of the laity in the South towards conventions made up solely of the clergy.¹⁸ It is one of few lay expressions of opinion which have survived and is worth quoting rather fully:

¹⁸A photostat copy of the original letter is in the Virginia Diocesan Library, Richmond, and the writer is indebted to Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia and Associate Editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for a copy of it. The original of this letter is owned by Mr. William Paca of Maryland, a great-great-grandson of Governor William Paca.

"As to their proceedings [the clergy convention of August 1783] they can be viewed in no other light than the private opinion and sentiments of so many clergymen of such a Church: What they have done can have no legal effect or obligation upon any Body: there is no constitution formed or established or can be so without the consent of the Episcopalian laity: they have never yet been consulted nor have they exprest any opinion about it.

"As to your first question I answer and say *for myself* the Episcopalian clergy shall not represent our Episcopal Church independently of the laity. As to the intentions of my countrymen I don't know what they are as none have been exprest on the subject but I think I can tell what they will be.

"As to your second question I don't well understand what is meant by the recommendation of a particular gentleman to the Bishop of London. Who gave the recommendation? I have heard that the clergy at their late meeting in order to establish and perpetuate the Order of Bishops among us and Episcopal ordination requested Mr. Smith to go to England and be ordained a Bishop if he could procure such an ordination. On his return it was said he might ordain Bishops enough for every State and in such numbers as to ensure a perpetual order of them—As to any rank, Precedence, authority either with regard to the rest of the Bishops or Clergy or with regard to our Church or the Laity or our Parishes or Glebes I never heard of any, nor is it possible that anything of this nature could have been determined upon by the Clergy at their late Meeting. In short the Clergy may meet and meet again but there never will be an Episcopal Church established in Maryland *without the Laity*. The Clergy may *assemble* and *propose* but the Laity must *adopt* or *consent*.

"As the Declaration of the Clergy did not, as far as I could judge, exceed the Doctrines of the Church of England I saw no impropriety or anything wrong in it.

"I hope it has not been represented that I have *recommended* any particular person for *Bishop* or *President*. I can assure you I never did: for I am one of those who think a Bishop unnecessary. . . ."

Whether the Governor meant by the last statement that he was "one of those who think a bishop unnecessary" for Maryland at that time or for the Church at large at any time, it is impossible from his letter to tell. But it helps us to understand why seven years were to go by before there was a bishop in any Southern state and nine years were to elapse before Maryland was to have its first bishop.

IV. STATE CONVENTIONS OF 1784

On May 24, 1784, in consequence of preliminary conferences initiated during the preceding March by the clergy and duly appointed laymen of the Philadelphia churches for the purpose of conferring "concerning the formation of a representative body of the Episcopal Church" in Pennsylvania, a representative gathering of clergy and laity of Pennsylvania met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, to consider ways and means "for the preservation of their communion." This was the first duly authorized ecclesiastical assembly of the Episcopal Church in any of the States at which laymen were deputies.¹⁹ Dr. White was chairman; William Pollard, layman, clerk.

The meeting appointed "a standing committee of the Episcopal Church" in Pennsylvania, consisting of clergy and laity; empowered it "to correspond and confer with representatives from the Episcopal Church in the other states," and "to assist in framing an ecclesiastical Government;" ordered that any constitution framed by the committee be reported to the several congregations, and that such constitution shall be binding on all congregations consenting to it. The Standing Committee, in framing a constitution, was to be "bound by the following instructions or fundamental principles," later known as the "Pennsylvania Resolutions," and exceedingly influential outside of that state:²⁰

First. That the Episcopal Church in these states is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

Second. That it hath, and ought to have, in common with all other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

Third. That the doctrines of the gospel be maintained, as now professed by the Church of England; and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may be, to the liturgy of the said Church.

Fourth. That the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage, which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same, respectively, be ascertained; and that they be exercised, according to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

Fifth. That to make canons, or laws, there be no other authority, than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

¹⁹White's "Memoirs", p. 86.

²⁰Reprints of Journals of the Diocesan Convention of Pennsylvania, pp. 5-7. The reader should note that the first interstate meeting of the Church looking towards union was held in New Brunswick, N. J., on May 11th, just before this Pennsylvania convention. See below: Dr. Manross' article.

Sixth. That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity, in their respective congregations."

It should be noted that it was intended, according to Dr. White,²¹ that "a general Constitution for ye Continent" should be formed, "which we think shd be attempted before we venture to form a Constitution for this State in particular," and the fundamental principles were instructions to the committee in their consultations with those in other states looking to that end.

The Standing Committee as appointed consisted of four clerical and eight lay members; Dr. White was chairman and a layman, Dr. Clarkson, was clerk. Through the hands of the chairman of this committee passed an immense correspondence with the Church's leaders in almost all of the other states and with many abroad.

During the fall of 1783 Dr. Seabury ran into obstacles in the way of his consecration by the English bishops. The first was, "that it would be sending a Bishop to Connecticut, which they have no right to do without the consent of the State." To meet this he dispatched several letters to the Connecticut clergy asking them to remove this difficulty by consulting the political authorities. On January 13, 1784, the clergy assembled in convention at Wallingford,²² and appointed Leaming, Hubbard and Jarvis as a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Connecticut Assembly concerning the right of a bishop consecrated abroad to live among them, and to communicate to Dr. Seabury their findings.

On June 8, 1784, the annual convention of the Connecticut clergy was held at New Milford with seven present; Leaming was president; Jarvis, secretary.²³ The committee's report of its activities and its letter to Dr. Seabury were approved. No special permission of the legislature was necessary, the authorities had no doubt of the Church's right to have a bishop, consecrated abroad, live in Connecticut, and by a recent act of the Assembly a bishop "will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do, or the church at large."

The Rev. Messrs. Beach, Bloomer and Benjamin Moore, in pursuance of the plan of the recent interstate meeting at New Brunswick, attended this convention and invited them to enter into a correspond-

²¹*White's letter to Parker, Perry, III., p. 61.*

²²*The minutes of this convention have not been found. For the pertinent letters in full, see: HIST. MAG., III., 158-179. Also, E. E. Beardsley, "Hist. of the Episcopal Church in Conn.", I., 358-360; "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury", p. 112.*

²³*These minutes were published for the first time in HIST. MAG., III., 57-58.*

ence "for the setting a Uniformity in y^e Epis: Chh. & to meet them in a Conventⁿ proposed to be holden at N. Y. on the Tuesday after the Feast of S. Michael." The convention agreed to this and appointed Leaming, Mansfield and Jarvis a committee "to form a Plan for such Settlement, & to report the same to the (Conn.) Conven: that will be held at N.(ew.) H.(aven) the Time of the Commencement in Septem^r." ²⁴

As we have seen, the Maryland convention of 1783 which drew up the "Declaration of Rights" had no laymen present. But at the convention of June 22, 1784,²⁵ lay delegates from the different parishes attended. When the "Declaration of Rights" was laid before them, "the Lay Delegates desired Leave to retire and consult upon the same," which they proceeded to do, paragraph by paragraph, and ended by approving them unanimously. This convention adopted some additional fundamental principles, which may be summarized as follows:

1. Any bishop, priest or deacon obtaining ordination in any foreign state was forbidden "to take or subscribe any obligation of obedience, *civil* or *canonical*, to any foreign power or authority whatsoever."

2. "According to what we conceive to be of true *Apostolic Institution*, the Duty and Office of a *Bishop*, differs in nothing from that of other *Priests*, except in the power of Ordination and Confirmation; and in the Right of Precedency in ecclesiastical Meetings or Synods, and shall accordingly be so exercised in this Church; the Duty and Office of *Priests* and *Deacons* to remain as heretofore." Any further distinctions and regulations in the different orders of the ministry which might later "be found necessary for the good government of the Church" shall only "be made and established by the *joint Voice and Authority of a Representative Body of the Clergy and Laity*, at future ecclesiastical Synods or Conventions."

3. "The Clergy should be deemed adequate Judges of the ministerial Commission and Authority which is necessary to the due Administration of the Ordinances of Religion in their own Church; and of the *literary, moral* and *religious* Qualities and Abilities" of any candidates for any order of the ministry; "but the approving and receiving such Persons to any particular Cure, Duty or Parish . . . is in the People who are to support them, and to receive the Benefit of their Ministry."

4. "Ecclesiastical Conventions or Synods of this Church shall consist of the Clergy and one Lay-Delegate or Representative from each Vestry or Parish."

²⁴The New Haven minutes have not been recovered, but for Beach's report to White on the attitude of the New Milford convention, especially regarding lay representation, and for their final decision at New Haven as to Connecticut's part in the New York interstate meeting, October 6, 1784, see below: Dr. Manross' article.

²⁵Perry, "Reprints", III., 29-32.

Most of the above "principles" as well as those in the original "Declaration" may seem very commonplace to the modern reader. But at the time of their original adoption they were quite radical to many and their influence was great in framing the Church's constitution.

During the War of Independence all of the Anglican clergy left Massachusetts except Samuel Parker of Boston and Edward Bass of Newburyport.²⁶ By 1784 the number had increased to five—William Willard Wheeler at Scituate and Marshfield, Stephen C. Lewis of Christ Church, Boston, and Nathaniel Fisher of Salem. Five or six other churches were supplied with lay readers. In New Hampshire there were only two Episcopal churches, Portsmouth being without a clergyman, and Claremont was soon to lose the S. P. G. missionary—Ranna Cossit—to Canada. In Rhode Island there were three churches, exclusive of the one at Bristol burned by the British. John Graves, S. P. G. missionary, was at Providence, and Moses Badger, formerly S. P. G. missionary in New Hampshire, at Newport.

These seven clergymen gathered in Boston on September 8, 1784,²⁷ elected Graves as "Moderator" and Fisher as secretary, and adopted as their own the Pennsylvania Resolutions, with slight modifications of the first and fifth articles. The first article was so qualified as not to allow the independence of the Episcopal Church to preclude its securing the episcopate from some foreign country. To prevent the relatively few clergymen from being subject to laws which the greater number of laymen might vote, it was provided in the fifth article that "the Laity ought not to exceed or their votes be more in number than those of the Clergy."

They next adopted three significant motions: (1) Parker, Bass, and Fisher were appointed a committee of correspondence with the clergy of other states; (2) they authorized a circular letter "in the name of this convention" to the clergy of Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, "urging the necessity of their uniting with us in adopting some speedy measures to procure an American Episcopate;" (3) Parker was authorized to represent Massachusetts and Rhode Island in any general meeting of the Episcopal Church in the United States, which he did the following month in New York.

The circular letter, signed by John Graves as Moderator, reviews the convention's actions, and then presses for the immediate procurement of the episcopate:

²⁶*Letter of Parker to White: Perry, ibid., III., 57-59.*

²⁷*Original minutes in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library; also, Perry, ibid., III., 63-66.*

"But it is our unanimous Opinion that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our Church before we have obtained a head. Our Churches at present resemble the scattered Limbs of the body without any common Centre of Union, or Principle to animate the whole. We cannot conceive it probable or even possible to carry the Plan you have pointed out into Execution before an Episcopate is obtained to direct our Motions, & by a delegated Authority to claim our Assent. It is needless to represent to you the absolute Necessity of adopting & uniting in some speedy measures to procure some reputable Person who is regularly invested with the powers of Ordination, &c. to reside among us, without which scarce the Shadow of an Episcopal Church will soon remain in these States. Many are the Congregations here destitute of a Clergyman, & we must be left to the disagreeable Alternative of having no Church in many of our Settlements where there would probably be a respectable one, or of having clerical Powers conveyed in an irregular manner."

They wish the episcopate to be procured "in the most regular manner & particularly from our mother church in England."

"We are extremely anxious for the Preservation of our Communion & the Continuance of an Uniformity of Doctrine & Worship, but we see not how this can be maintained without a common head, & are therefore desirous of uniting with you in such Measures as shall be found expedient & proper for the common good."

The Scottish bishops agreed with the tenor of this appeal but the English bishops did not. Because the latter in effect demanded that the scattered limbs of the body be first gathered together before they would supply the head, the Church waited another two and one-half years for its full complement of three bishops.

On October 27, 1784, following the interstate meeting of that month in New York, the clergy and lay delegates of Maryland gathered in convention at Chester.²⁸ They adopted additional "Constitutions" respecting the future discipline and government of this Church in annual or general conventions:

1. General conventions, consisting of the different orders of clergy and laity, shall have power and authority to discipline scandalous members, clerical or lay; enact canons; alter church services, the liturgy or points of doctrine. Clergy and laity are to deliberate in one body, but where demanded, they are

²⁸Perry, "Reprints", III., 32-33.

to vote by orders; the concurrence of both orders being necessary for the enactment of any measure.

2. Future conventions shall annually appoint a "Standing Committee," consisting of an equal number of clergy and laity, to have such authority as the convention shall delegate to it.

Here again we have a remarkable foreshadowing of several important features of the Church's constitution. Connecticut, however, never accepted the proposal of lay members on the Standing Committee, and to this day has none. Strange as it may seem, in view of the above, Maryland itself did not permit laymen on the Standing Committee for over 100 years—until the first decade of the present century.

By the end of 1784 the lineaments of the future constitution of the American Episcopal Church were fairly discernible. It was to be a daughter of the Church of England, but a daughter who had set up housekeeping for herself and independent of all foreign control. The "convention" and the "standing committee", both the fruit of the American Church's own history and experience, were to be basic in every diocese. The laity, along with the clergy, were to have a direct and equal voice and vote in the councils of the Church. Bishops were somehow to be obtained, and the idea of continuing the ministry without them had been largely given up. A union of the churches in the various states was felt to be imperative and some kind of a *general* convention was to be the heart of this union. The right of such a general convention to revise the discipline and worship of the Church was generally admitted, but in New England the exercise of this right was denied until bishops were present as a recognized part of General Convention. During the next year the "making" of the Church's constitution was to be greatly accelerated.

V. STATE CONVENTIONS OF 1785

It is not within the province of this article to discuss at length the state conventions of 1785 and after, except as they had patent influence upon the making of the Church's constitution. Acting upon the recommendations and proposals of the New York interstate meeting of October 6, 1784,²⁹ the Church was organized in the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, Connecticut (Bishop Seabury assumed jurisdiction), and Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire (the last three in one convention).

²⁹For this meeting, see below: *Dr. Manross' article.*

1. IN VIRGINIA

But the proceedings of the Virginia primary convention must be considered in some detail, for in the opinion of the late Bishop William Stevens Perry, noted historiographer of the Church:³⁰

"It is hardly too much to say of it, that in the influence it had upon subsequent legislation of the Church at large—in the principles it enunciates, and in the evidence it affords us of the temper and opinions of the Virginia Churchmen of that day, it is second in importance only to that of Maryland."

Up to the time of the New York interstate meeting of 1784 the Episcopal Church in Virginia was "so fettered by Laws, that the clergy could do no more than petition for a repeal of those laws—for liberty to introduce Ordination and Government and to revise and alter the Liturgy . . . In the Present State of Ecclesiastical affairs in this State, the Clergy could not, with propriety, and indeed without great danger to the Church, empower any Persons to agree to the least alteration whatever. . . ."³¹ The Reverend David Griffith, therefore, could only attend the New York meeting *unofficially*.

Finally, in 1784, in response to the petition of the clergy, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act³² incorporating the "Protestant Episcopal Church" and authorizing a convention "to consist of a deputation of two persons from each parish, whereof the Minister shall always be one, if there be a Minister in the parish, and the other person or persons shall be appointed by the Vestries." The convention was empowered

"To regulate . . . all the religious concerns of that church, its doctrines, discipline, and worship, and to institute such rules and regulations as they may judge necessary for the good government thereof, and the same to revoke and alter at their pleasure."

Forty persons, properly appointed, constituted a convention and the Virginia primary convention, consisting of 36 clergymen and some 70 laymen, assembled in Richmond, May 18, 1785. This convention proceeded to make up for lost time by spending eight days on the

³⁰Perry's "Reprints", III., p. 51.

³¹Letter of David Griffith to Dr. White, July 26, 1784, in Perry's "Reprints", III., p. 46.

³²A copy of the Act, together with reprints of all the early journals of the Virginia convention, may be found in the appendix to Francis L. Hawks: "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U. S. A.", Vol. I. (Virginia), 1836.

Church's business and filling a journal of 23 pages of small type compared with the two, three, or four pages of most of the other primary diocesan conventions. The Rev. Dr. James Madison was president, the Rev. Robert Andrews secretary.

The convention expressed its willingness "to unite in a general ecclesiastical constitution with the members" of the Church in the other states, and agreed to send a deputation of two clergymen and two laymen to the general convention to meet in September in Philadelphia, but the deputation was given instructions and the Virginia convention was left free to approve or disapprove of the proceedings of General Convention. The clerical deputies elected were David Griffith and Samuel Smith M'Croskey; the lay deputies, John Page and William Lee.

Virginia acceded to the fundamental principles of the New York interstate meeting except articles Four and Six.³³ Concerning the Fourth article, which set forth that the "Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States," the Virginia convention refused to "bind themselves . . . until the same shall be revised, at the next General Convention at Philadelphia, and reported to the next Convention."

They refused to accede to the Sixth article which stated: "That the Clergy and Laity in Convention, shall deliberate in one Body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give Validity to every Measure." This refusal meant that the laity in Virginia, since they outnumbered the clergy, could outvote the latter and dominate any convention.

The letter of instructions to the Virginia deputies, coupled with the convention's rejection of the Fourth article of the New York interstate meeting which called for a very conservative revision of the Prayer Book, was so influential in opening the flood gates of wholesale revision, resulting in the *Proposed Book* of 1785 and further delay in securing the consecration of bishops in England, that we give it in full, except for the first paragraph:

"Uniformity in doctrine and worship will unquestionably contribute to the prosperity of the Protestant Episcopal Church. But we earnestly wish that this may be pursued with liberality and moderation. The obstacles which stand in the way of union amongst Christian societies are too often founded on matters of mere form. They are surmountable therefore

³³For the articles in full, see below: Dr. Manross' article.

by those, who breathing the spirit of Christianity, earnestly labour in this pious work.

"From the holy scriptures themselves, rather than the comments of men, must we learn the terms of salvation. Creeds therefore ought to be simple: And we are not anxious to retain any other than that which is commonly called the Apostles creed.

"Should a change in the liturgy be proposed, let it be made with caution; And in that case let the alterations be few, and the stile of prayer continue as agreeable as may be to the essential characteristics of our persuasion.

"We will not now decide what ceremonies ought to be retained. We wish, however, that those, which exist, may be estimated according to their utility; and that such as may appear fit to be laid aside, may no longer be appendages to our church.

"We need only add that we shall expect a report of your proceedings to those whom we shall vest with authority to call a Convention.

"Done in Convention on this 22d day of May in the year of our Lord 1785."

"The Address of the Convention to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia," prepared by the Rev. Messrs. David Griffith, John Burgess, John Bracken, Robert Andrews, and Messrs. John Page, Edmund Randolph, Carter Braxton, and Robert Walker, was a very stirring one, yet with elements of pathos. We cannot forbear quoting portions of it:

"For more than eight years our church hath languished under neglect. We will not, however, believe that her friends have revolted, and therefore trust that a knowledge of her present condition will rekindle their former affections."

Was a better statement of the Christian religion's usefulness to society ever penned than the following?

"Religion does not invite by inducements from eternal interest alone; society feels her benignity in remedying the defects of laws. Secret injuries to social rights escape the censures of government. From the constitution of human affairs, human wisdom cannot be certain, that an antidote applied to one evil will not produce another; and many are the duties of imperfect obligation, which no legislative provision can enforce. Nor can society at all times furnish incitements to virtuous conduct by rewards; and even if this were practicable, the most enlightened tribunal on earth could not be assured of the purity of the motive which gave

birth to the action rewarded. Religion, on the contrary, fixes the eye of conscience on deeds however remote from public view; arrests the hand of vice by holding forth the responsibility of man to his Creator; rescues benevolence from the vortex of self-love; administers self-complacency, that highest prize of merit; and withholds it in spite of partiality when it is not due.

“ . . . We have enlisted ourselves under the banners of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Let us not desert this object of our choice, but, conscious of her scriptural authority, devote ourselves to her relief.

The state of the Church in Virginia is revealed by the following section, and, unfortunately, the worst was yet to be. In 1802 the Church lost the glebes, confiscated by the state.

“Of what is the church now possessed! Nothing but the glebes and your affections. Since the year 1776, she hath been even without regular government, and her ministers have received but little compensation for their services. Their numbers are diminished by death and other causes, and we have as yet no resources within ourselves for a succession of ministers. Churches stand in need of repair, and there is no fund equal to the smallest want.”

The rest of the address is a moving exhortation to churchmen not to abandon the Church “in the hour of difficulty”, with the earnest plea: “Let us not be the only example of a religious association withering from the want of support from its own members.”

The Governor of Virginia referred to the convention a letter from Count de Rosenkrone, respecting the means of procuring ordination of American clergymen in Denmark, and the convention in turn referred it to the General Convention in Philadelphia.

The convention next resolved that “the Canons of the Church of England have no obligation” on the Church in Virginia and proceeded to fill up the void by adopting forty-three “Rules for the Order, Government, and Discipline” of the Church in Virginia. The first seven concern conventional procedure; Rules 8 to 22 regulate the offices and duties of bishops, priests and deacons; Rules 23 to 25 govern the duties of church wardens, parish clerks and sextons; Rules 26 to 28 are devoted to the discipline of bishops and Rules 29 to 34 to that of priests and deacons; Rules 35 to 43 regulate in still greater detail the duties of bishops, priests and deacons. Some of these “canons” are sound, some are startling, some are forbidding, some are amusing. Of the last three groups we give a few examples.

Rule Eight establishes "presbyteries" of not less than 3 nor more than 10 clergymen in each; the convention is to appoint for each "presbytery" a "visiter" (sic)

"who shall annually visit each parish in his district—shall attend to and inspect the morals and conduct of the clergy—shall see that the canons and rules of the church are observed, and that no abuses are practiced—shall admonish and reprove privately those clergymen who are negligent, or act in an unbecoming manner, and shall report yearly to the bishop", or to the convention if there be no bishop, "the state of each parish in his district, noting down the offenders and their offences."

Rule Ten requires the bishop to take the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth of Virginia. Rule Eleven copies the Maryland conception of the office of a bishop and requires that "every bishop shall continue to hold a parish and to do the duty of a parish minister."

Examples of forbidding canons are Rules 26 and 27 which provide that "bishops shall be amenable to the convention, who shall be a court to try them, from which there shall be no appeal;" and "all accusations against a bishop, as such, shall come from the vestries," three vestries being required to join in the complaint.

Modern clergy, never having been subject to this particular temptation, will be amused to know that under Rules 28 and 32, "taking a bribe to grant either ordination or a recommendation for a vacant parish," was listed as an offence in a bishop for which he might be brought to trial; and "taking a bribe to recommend either for ordination or a parish," would bring a priest or deacon to the same fate. The clergy of today will also be astonished to learn that the only canonical authorization known in the American Church for wearing clerical collars or other distinctive clerical garb, hails from Virginia under Rule 41, adopted by the convention of 1785:

"Ministers and deacons shall wear a surplice during the time of prayer at public worship, in places where they are provided; shall wear gowns when they preach, where they conveniently can; and shall at all times wear apparel suited to the gravity of their profession:—*such as may distinguish them from laymen.* (Italics ours.)

Virginia's Primary Convention concluded its business by authorizing a Standing Committee with extensive duties but with powers circumscribed by the requirement that their proceedings must be submitted "to every succeeding convention to be confirmed or rescinded."

What was the reaction of the Church in the North to the Virginia Convention of 1785? Chandler's caustic comment was probably typical of the attitude of most of the clergy north of Philadelphia:³⁴

"I hope you have not suffered greatly for want of this curious publication. A curiosity indeed it is for it exhibits such a motley mixture of Episcopacy, Presbytery and Ecclesiastical Republicanism as before was never brought together and incorporated, and must surprise the whole Christian world."

The weakness of the Virginia convention of 1785 was twofold: first, it fell into the error of "governing too much", against which Bishop White was always warning ecclesiastical bodies; second, by retaining the dominance of the laity over bishops and presbyters instead of establishing a partnership, the clergy were cowed, able clergy stayed out, unworthy clergy came in, and the Church was further weakened for the terrible period of irreligion which the next twenty-five years were to witness throughout the United States.

2. OTHER STATE CONVENTIONS OF 1785³⁵

On May 24, 1785, the Church in Pennsylvania was duly organized, an Act of Association was adopted, the New York principles (which, as Bishop White later said, were largely the Pennsylvania Resolutions of 1784) were acceded to, and deputies to the forthcoming General Convention were appointed.

In New York on June 22, 1785, the primary convention of the Church in that state assembled, consisting of five clergymen and eleven laymen, accepted the fundamental principles adopted in New York the previous fall, and appointed three clerical and three lay deputies to the General Convention of 1785.

New Jersey's primary convention assembled in Christ Church, New Brunswick, July 6, 1785, with three clergymen and fourteen laymen, representing eight churches. Abraham Beach, who in 1784 had become assistant minister in Trinity Church, New York, came out to preside and represented both New York and New Jersey in the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786. Dr. Chandler returned from England in 1785 after a ten year absence, and was elected with Beach and two other clergymen to make up the clerical deputation to

³⁴*Letter of the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler to William Samuel Johnson, dated Elizabethtown, N. J., Dec. 28, 1785, in E. E. Beardsley's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson", p. 370. Johnson had lent Chandler a copy of the Virginia Journal of 1785.*

³⁵*The sources of these conventions are the different diocesan journals, unless otherwise noted.*

Philadelphia, although he did not attend either the New Jersey or the General Convention. This clerical deputation together with six of the laity was empowered to accede to the fundamental principles of the New York meeting of 1784, "and to adopt such measures, as the said general convention may deem necessary for the utility of the said church, not repugnant to the aforesaid fundamental principles."

In South Carolina the primary convention convened in Charleston on May 12, 1785, but due to the small representation, consideration of the New York recommendations was adjourned to another meeting on July 12th. Even at this later date only three clergymen and lay deputies from only seven parishes attended. A layman, Hugh Rutledge, served as chairman. Little appears to have been done except to choose deputies to the General Convention of that fall. In order to secure compliance with the invitation, the Rev. Robert Smith, destined to be the first bishop of South Carolina, proposed "that there shall be no bishop settled in that State." This violent anti-episcopal attitude with which Smith had to contend, was due to two factors: (1) The laity could not envisage a bishop except as a pompous state official which they would not have; and (2) bishops in their minds must somehow be related to the British government against which there was great bitterness in South Carolina, the ravages of the war having been greater in that State than in any other.

The first convention of any Church in the United States to be attended by a bishop was that of Connecticut, which met at Middletown, August 2-7, 1785. Bishop Seabury returned to America, June 20, 1785, and at this convention⁸⁶ he was formally received and assumed his jurisdiction. Ten of the Connecticut clergy and Benjamin Moore of New York and Samuel Parker of Boston attended. The first ordination in the American Episcopal Church took place on August 3, 1785, four being ordered deacons by Bishop Seabury.

Parker communicated to this convention the thoughts of the Massachusetts clergy "of connecting themselves with them, under his Episcopal Charge. The Clergy of Conn: expressed th^r warmest wishes for the Union & concurrence of th^r Breth^{rn} in Massachusetts und^r Bp. Seabury."

A committee consisting of John Bowden, Samuel Parker and Abraham Jarvis, was appointed "to consider of & make some Alterat^{ns} in the Liturgy needful for the present Use of the Chh," to report at the convention to be held in New Haven on September 14, 1785.⁸⁷ Ac-

⁸⁶The minutes of this convention were first published in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, III., pp. 59-64.

⁸⁷The minutes of this latter convention have not been found.

cording to Parker,³⁸ this committee did not act alone, but "attended" the Bishop, spent two days on liturgical revision, prepared substitutes for the state prayers which were recommended for immediate use in Connecticut and certain other alterations were suggested for consideration. We do not know what the other alterations were, but the evidence is that Seabury was ready for a more liberal revision of the Prayer Book than the laity of Connecticut. On November 28, 1785, he wrote Parker:³⁹

"Between the time of our parting at Middletown and the Clerical meeting at New Haven, it was found that the Church people in Connecticut were much alarmed at the thoughts of any considerable alteration being made in the Prayer Book; and, upon the whole, it was judged best that no alterations should be attempted at present, but to wait till a little time shall have cooled down the tempers and conciliated the affections of the people to each other. And since the Convention at Philadelphia, which, as report says, has abrogated two creeds and nineteen Articles, and taken great liberties with the Prayers, &c., we are more apprehensive of proceeding to any alterations."

Parker also states⁴⁰ that he urged Bishop Seabury to attend the General Convention of 1785 in Philadelphia but that the Fifth article of the fundamental principles adopted at New York, which provided merely that a bishop should be a member *ex officio* and failed to provide for his presidency in either a state or general convention, "discouraged him so much that no arguments I could use were sufficient to prevail with him." Seabury's own reasons as stated in a letter to Dr. White were:⁴¹

"It is a grief to me that I cannot be with you at your ensuing Convention. Neither my circumstances, nor my duty will permit it. I am utterly unprovided for so long a journey, not being, at present, master even of a horse."

With reference to the admission of the laity into the councils of the Church, the Bishop's own opinions, as distinguished from those of his clergy,⁴² should here be noted. Under date of August 15, 1785, he wrote a long and carefully reasoned letter on various funda-

³⁸Letters to White and Seabury, Perry's "Reprints", III., p. 90 and pp. 364-65.

³⁹Perry's "Reprints", III., p. 308.

⁴⁰Letter to Dr. White, Sept. 14, 1785, Perry's "Reprints", III. p. 90.

⁴¹Letter of August 19, 1785, Perry's "Reprints", III., 83.

⁴²For the views of the clergy of Connecticut on this subject, see below: Dr. Manross' article.

mental principles to Dr. William Smith which he wished the latter to read to the General Convention:⁴³

"From what has been said you will suppose I shall object to the admission of Lay members into Synods &c: I must confess I do, especially in the degree your fundamental rules allow. I have as great a regard for the laity as any man can have. It is for their sake that Ministers are appointed in the Ch'ch. I have no idea of aggrandizing the Clergy at the expense of the laity; nor indeed of aggrandizing them at all. Decent means of living is all that they have a right to expect. But I cannot conceive that the Laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on Bps and Presbyters, especially when deposition may be the event; because they cannot take away a character which they cannot confer. . . . Should it be thought necessary that the laity should have a share in the choice of their Bp—if it can be put on a proper footing, so as to avoid party and confusion,—I see not but that it might be admitted."

After leading up to it by easy stages, Seabury secured the admission of the laity as full fledged members of the Connecticut convention of 1792.

On September 7 and 8, 1785, the convention of the Church in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, met in Boston.⁴⁴ The four clergymen present were all from Massachusetts; of the twelve laymen present, two were from Rhode Island and one from New Hampshire. The Rev. Edward Bass was president; the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, secretary.

This convention undertook a revision of the Prayer Book. They used the Middletown Paper No. 1 as a basis, but they went way beyond it—omitting the *descensus* clause in the Apostles Creed, omitting the Athanasian Creed entirely, making the Nicene Creed optional, and effecting a great number of other changes in the various offices too numerous to mention here. They did, however, distinguish between the Middletown substitutes for the state prayers and the other alterations, recommending the immediate use of the former and the postponement of the latter until the next convention could assess the actions of the Church in other states and the reactions of their own parishes. They voted not to send delegates to Philadelphia because

⁴³Perry's "Reprints", III., pp. 76-82. This letter is also to be found in Bishop White's "Memoirs", but there it is incorrect in several particulars and the following words in the section here quoted are omitted: "I must confess I do, especially in the degree your fundamental rules allow."

⁴⁴Minutes in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library; also, Perry's "Reprints", III., 92-99.

of the "very considerable" expense which "must fall upon one or two churches."⁴⁵ A copy of their proposed revision was sent to Dr. White and undoubtedly was a factor in encouraging the General Convention of 1785 to produce the *Proposed Book*.

VI. THE AFTERMATH OF 1785⁴⁶

The period between the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786 was one of disillusionment, dissatisfaction and increased tension. Dr. White ruefully admitted:⁴⁷ "On the whole, it was evident that, in regard to the liturgy, the labours of the convention had not reached their object." In South Carolina, where the convention appeared to have no objections to the *Proposed Book*, "the People in general are disgusted with it, more particularly, the Psalter."⁴⁸

In Virginia (May 24-31, 1786) it was adopted with the exception of the rubric before the Communion office—Virginia holding it to be intolerable that a minister should be allowed to repel an evil liver from the Eucharist.⁴⁹ The convention also instructed their deputies to the General Convention of 1786 to seek further amendments to the Articles of Religion, but the resolution was adopted by a divided vote, "not because of the alterations made, but because they were so few."⁵⁰ But the Virginia laity were dissatisfied with the *Proposed Book*, "partly owing to the people's being sufficiently satisfied with the old ones, and their apprehensions of future alterations, or to their not being generally adopted."⁵¹ On May 31, 1786, the Rev. David Griffith was elected Bishop of Virginia, but in 1789 he relinquished his appointment and died during the General Convention of that year.

Even in Pennsylvania (May 22-31, 1786) the deputies to the General Convention of 1786 were instructed to seek restoration of the Nicene Creed and its compulsory use on six of the greater festivals, together with other changes in the offices of Holy Communion, Baptism, Burial, and many changes in the Articles of Religion. At an adjourned session, on September 14th, 1786, the Reverend William White, D. D., was "unanimously chosen" Bishop of Pennsylvania.

In New York, after meeting on May 16-17, 1786, the convention adjourned to June 13-14, when consideration of the *Proposed Book* was "deferred to a future day," "out of respect to the English bishops,

⁴⁵Parker to White, Sept. 14, 1785, Perry, III., p. 91.

⁴⁶The sources of this section are the various Diocesan Journals, unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁷White, "Memoirs", p. 112.

⁴⁸Dr. Purcell to Dr. White, Perry, III., p. 330.

⁴⁹White, "Memoirs", p. 112.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 112.

⁵¹The Rev. John Buchanan to Bishop White, Perry, III., 359.

and because the minds of the people are not yet sufficiently informed." On taking up the General Constitution of the Church as adopted by the General Convention of 1785, Article 1 to 7 and 11 were adopted; Article 8, pertaining to the amenability of bishops and other clergy to the convention of their diocese, was amended: "That the Bishop be amenable only to the authority of the General Convention", and not to his diocesan convention; Article 9, dealing with Prayer Book revision, and Article 10, concerning ministerial subscription to the Prayer Book, were suspended, pending decision as to what book should be authoritative. The Rev. Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity Church, was "recommended for Episcopal consecration." The last act of this session was hardly conducive to promoting the unity of the Church, and reflected the hatred of Provoost for Seabury:

Resolved, That the persons appointed to represent this Church be instructed not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations.

In New Jersey, May 16-19, 1786, "the political alterations in the Book of Common Prayer" were "unanimously approved;" the address of the General Convention to the bishops of England was "very agreeable to this convention;" "the further alterations in the book of Common Prayer" they did "not approve thereof;" and the General Constitution of the Church they did "not agree thereto."

Bishop White thus describes the atmosphere when the General Convention of 1786 convened:⁵²

"The convention assembled under circumstances, which bore strong appearances of a dissolution of the union, in this early stage of it. The interfering instructions from the churches in the different states—the embarrassment that had arisen from the rejection of the proposed book in some of the states, and the use of it in others—some dissatisfaction on account of the Scottish Episcopacy—and, added to these, the demur expressed in the letter from the English bishops, were what the most sanguine contemplated with apprehension, and were sure prognostics of our falling to pieces, in the opinion of some, who were dissatisfied with the course that had been taken for the organizing of the Church."

Such being the temper of the time, "the moderation which governed in this convention," says Bishop White, "must be conspicuous." There were two principal reasons for this moderate temper, according

⁵²*Memoirs*, p. 115.

to the Bishop: "one . . . was the moderation of the English prelates;"⁵³ the other was the memorial of the New Jersey convention which convinced the General Convention "that the result of considerable changes would have been the disunion of the Church", and, Dr. White had no doubt, "was among the causes which prevented the disorganizing of it."

New Jersey had the honor of initiating the first steps towards the union of the Episcopal churches at a critical period; it also had the honor of staying the forces of disunion in a crisis. This memorial,⁵⁴ therefore, must have our consideration.

On May 17, 1786, the Rev. Abraham Beach and Messrs. John DeHart, James Parker, Matthias Halsted and Henry Waddell were appointed a committee "to draught a memorial to the general convention . . . specifying the reasons which induced this convention to disapprove the proposed alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, and the aforesaid ecclesiastical constitution." On May 19, the committee's draught was read, debated and agreed to, and ordered signed by Beach as president. Bishop White states that it "was conjectured at the time," and that he afterwards "learned with certainty" that it "was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Chandler of Elizabeth-Town." Although Chandler was not at the New Jersey convention and his name nowhere appears on the minutes in connection with it, Dr. White's statement can hardly be challenged, Beach and Chandler being very intimate.

The memorial very tactfully opens with an enumeration of the General Convention's proceedings which the New Jersey convention had approved, as stated above; but "the proceedings . . . have an undoubted tendency to prolong, if not entirely prevent, the obtaining of the prayer thereof;" and in this opinion they feel that they are supported by the reply of the English bishops. The memorialists admit the right of every national church to alter "the mode of its public worship;"

"But they doubt the right of any order or orders of men, in an episcopal church without a bishop, to make any alterations not warranted by immediate necessity, especially such as not only go to the mode of its worship, but also to its doctrines."

Such being the case, "all unnecessary alterations must be unseasonable and impolitic, and will prove highly detrimental to the

⁵³For discussion of this, see below: Dr. Manross' article.

⁵⁴Accessible copies in the *New Jersey Diocesan Journal* of 1786, and in White's "Memoirs", Appendix #7, pp. 298-300.

church in general." The manner of publishing the *Proposed Book* by a committee, with the psalms and kalendar transposed without the "revision and express approbation" of General Convention, and at such a late date, was disapproved.

"The prejudices and prepossessions of mankind in favour of old customs, especially in religious matters, are generally so strong as to require great delicacy and caution in the introduction of any alterations or innovations, although manifestly for the better; which was also one reason, why they could not at this time ratify the alterations so unnecessarily made; and they are very apprehensive, that until alterations can be made consistent with the customs of the primitive Church, and with the rules of the Church of England, from which it is our boast to have descended, a ratification of them would create great uneasiness in the minds of many members of the Church, and in great probability cause dissensions and schisms. Although they may not disapprove of all the alterations made in the said new book, yet they have to regret the unseasonableness and irregularity of them."

Desirous of "cementing, perpetuating and extending the union so happily begun in the Church, with all deference and submission," the memorialists "humbly request and entreat" the General Convention to revise the proceedings of the late convention and its committee and to remove every cause of jealousy or fear—

"That the Episcopal Church in the United States of America have any intention or desire essentially to depart, either in doctrine or discipline, from the Church of England; but, on the contrary, to convince the world that it is their wish and intention to maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and to adhere to the liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution and the constitutions of the respective states . . ."

Thus will they be able to obtain bishops and complete "our ecclesiastical government," and secure to American Episcopalians and their descendents "a succession of that necessary order." The memorial concludes with a plea to the General Convention:

"That they will use all means in their power to promote and perpetuate harmony and unanimity among ourselves, and with the said Church of England as a mother or sister church, and with every protestant church in the universe."

VII. THE MENDING OF THE NET

The General Convention of 1786 succeeded fairly well in uniting the Church in the states outside of New England. But in the latter area the feeling resulting from the treatment of Bishop Seabury by that convention was far from amiable. And this displeasure was not confined to Connecticut; the Massachusetts clergy felt the same way. Both Parker and Bass practically charged that the brethren to the south, by questioning the validity of Seabury's ordinations, were creating a schism.⁵⁵

The Connecticut clergy, alarmed, indignant and bent on vindicating their rights, undertook to protect their Church if a schism were precipitated. On February 27, 1787, in convention at Wallingford, they decided to send another presbyter to Scotland for consecration as coadjutor to Seabury.⁵⁶ After both Leaming and Mansfield declined their election, Jarvis was chosen. But he was never required to go, first, because the Scottish bishops counselled caution and delay, and second, because the Church outside of New England had a change of heart. Several factors produced this: (1) Seabury's refusal to allow bishops and presbyters to be under the thumbs of the laity was largely substantiated by the English bishops, and with the cooling of tempers the wisdom of it became more widely recognized; (2) the inability or unwillingness of the Church in Virginia to provide money for Griffith's journey to England, the determined opposition to Smith's consecration in Maryland and elsewhere, and the little likelihood of any other diocese sending a bishop abroad, began to cause uneasiness and raise the question: Why do so, when we have three bishops in American to consecrate a fourth? (3) There were many good men, clergy and laymen, throughout the Church, in the South as well as in the North, who were unhappy at the thought of the Church's not being united.

In the fall of 1788, about eighteen months after his consecration. Bishop White began energetically to mend the tear in the net before it grew any worse. His greatest obstacle was Provoost's implacable enmity to Seabury which is one of the most discreditable chapters in American church history. In the former's eyes, Seabury was guilty of two unforgivable faults—churchmanship and politics, High in the one and Loyalist in the other, and the greater of these was politics.

⁵⁵For their letters on the subject, see: Perry, "Reprints", III., p. 324-326.

⁵⁶Beardsley, E. E., "History of the Episcopal Church in Conn.", I., pp. 399-401.

Note: The minutes of the Conn. convention of May 30, 1787, at Stamford, have been found in the Mass. Diocesan Library, but since they are entirely concerned with internal diocesan affairs, not pertinent to this article, they are omitted from this discussion.

If it had not been for White's mediatorship, Seabury's magnanimity, and Prevoost's providential illness which prevented his attendance at the General Convention of 1789, the union of the Church might have been still longer delayed. In mending the net White found a zealous and able coadjutor in Samuel Parker of Boston, and to White, Parker and Seabury—more than to any other three men—the Church must ever be grateful for achieving the complete union of the Church in 1789.

White wrote Parker urging Massachusetts' representation in the forthcoming General Convention and wishing the latter to work for "ye effecting of a junction with our brethren in Connecticut." Parker passed the letter on to Seabury who replied under date of December 16, 1788:⁵⁷

"All the difficulty lies with those Churches and not with us in Connecticut. I have several times proposed and urged a union. It has been received and treated, I think, coldly. And yet, I have received several letters urging such a union on me, as though I was the only person who opposed it. This is not fair. I am ready to treat of and settle the terms of union on any proper notice. But Bishops W. and P. must bear their part in it, actively, as well as myself; and we must come into the union on even terms, and not as underlings."

On June 20, 1789, in a long letter to Bishop White, and on July 23, in a shorter letter to Dr. Smith,⁵⁸ Bishop Seabury explained why his hands and those of the Connecticut convention were tied in the matter of the invitation to General Convention. The gist of the problem is stated in the following paragraph of his letter to Smith:

"The wish of my heart, and the wish of the Clergy and of the Church people of this state, would certainly have carried me, and some of the Clergy, to your General Convention, had we conceived we could have done it with propriety. The ground on which Bishop P. disputes the validity of the Scotch Episcopal succession can best be explained by himself: I know not what it is. And the ground on which the letters of Orders were called for from every Clergyman, in a former Convention at Philadelphia—if I have been rightly informed—in order to make a distinction between English and Scotch ordinations, they can best explain who were concerned in it. As I know not precisely how this matter ended, I shall say no more about it. But while this matter stands as it does, and

⁵⁷The pertinent correspondence is available in Perry, "Reprints", III., 376-379.

⁵⁸The two letters from Bishop Seabury's Letter Book, now in the possession of the Honorable Samuel Seabury, LL. D., of New York City, are to be found in Perry, *ibid.*, III., 384-389.

there is a Resolve on the minutes of the New York Convention strongly reflecting on Bishop Seabury's Episcopal character—while by your own Constitution no representation of Clergymen can be admitted without Lay delegates; and no Church can be taken into your union without adopting your whole plan, I leave you to say whether it would be right for me, or for my Clergy, to offer ourselves at a Convention where we could be admitted only in courtesy? Should we feel ourselves at home? Or, as being on an equal footing with the other ministers?"

How the first session (July 28-August 8) of the General Convention of 1789 enabled Bishop Seabury and the Connecticut convention to accept the cordial invitation to the second session (September 29-October 16), will be found expounded in the next article. We have only to consider the recently discovered minutes of the Connecticut convention of September 15-16, 1789, at Stratfield.⁵⁹ Bishop Seabury was not present; Leaming was president; Jarvis, secretary. The others present were: Mansfield, Hubbard, Shelton, Bowden, Sayre, Root, Clarke, and Prindle. The convention was especially called:

"To deliberate upon the Invitation rec^d from the gen^{al} Convention at Philadelphia by the Bishop and Clergy of the Chh in Conn^t to attend their Con: whh they had adjourn'd to that end to the 27 of Sep^r; and to consider on what Terms we can cooperate wh. that Body towards forming a general Union in the Chh throughout the united States."

After the reading of "the Letters and Prayer sent for the Perusal of this convention" and "such Part of the Journal of the Con. at Philad: . . . as related to the subject of a gen^l Union," they voted to send "clerical Delegates to meet the Conven: at Philadel."

"On Motion of M^r Bowden, Whether a *general Constitution*—(as the Word Constitution implies Rules & regulations for the Exercise of that Government which Ct. & his Apostles established in the Church) is necessary for effectuating a Union of all the Churches in the *United States*; Or whether it will not answer every essential Purpose for each State to form its own particular Constitution:—Resolved, That the *former* is by no Means necessary, and in the present State of the Church impracticable, and that the *Latter* is sufficient.

"On further Motion by M^r B., Whether the Deputies of this Church shall be empowered to confer with the general Convention upon the Subject of making Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer: Resolved, That they shall; but

⁵⁹In the *Massachusetts Diocesan Library*.

the Ratification of such Alterations as may be made, shall rest with the B^p & Clergy of this Church."

The Reverend Messrs. Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis were elected deputies to the General Convention at its second session of 1789, where, in the providence of God, the former of the last two resolutions was overruled, and the latter effected, the Prayer Book was revised, the Church's constitution was "made", and the union of the Church consummated.

CONCLUSION

If we may say that Connecticut represented the "right" and Virginia the "left" in constitutional principles of church government, the American Episcopal Church found her true constitutional genius in neither the one nor the other; but by striking a balance, and by rejecting the dominance of any one order, she largely succeeded in establishing a harmonious partnership of the three orders of bishops, presbyters and laymen. The Church has always produced her richest fruits when that partnership has been effective; she has fallen on evil days when any one order has dominated the others. May the latter never recur; may the former always prevail!

THE INTERSTATE MEETINGS AND GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1784, 1785, 1786 AND 1789

By William Wilson Manross

THE FIRST INTERSTATE MEETING

THE first interstate meeting to discuss the problem of reorganizing the Church after the Revolution was held at New Brunswick, New Jersey, May 11, 1784. The publication, early in 1783, of the Reverend William White's pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*, containing the outline of a scheme of church government,¹ had made him the center of an extensive correspondence upon the whole question of organization. Of the many suggestions which were offered him, one, which came from the Reverend Abraham Beach, rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, was that a meeting be called of the members of a colonial corporation for the relief of widows and orphans of clergymen, to put the affairs of that corporation in order, and that as many of the clergy as could conveniently do so should assemble at the same time to consider the state of the Church and the measures which must be taken to preserve its life.²

White, although he was probably already working upon his own plan to secure a continental assembly through action by the Episcopalians in Pennsylvania, readily agreed to Dr. Beach's practical proposal, and, in a subsequent exchange of letters, it was decided that the meeting should take place in New Brunswick on May 11th and that "respectable characters of the laity," as well as all the clergy should be invited to attend.³

Actually, two separate meetings were held on the 11th. The mem-

¹William White, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*, Philadelphia, 1783. For an analysis of White's "Case", see above, Dr. Stowe's article, "The State or Diocesan Conventions of the Post-War Period."

²Beach to White, Jan. 26, 1784, *White Mss.*, Vol. I, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

³Beach to White, Mar. 22 and Apr. 13, 1784. *White Mss.*, Vol. I. The minutes of the New Brunswick meeting and the pertinent correspondence are to be found in Wm. S. Perry's, "Journals of General Conventions," Vol. III. (Historical Notes and Documents), pp. 6-12, hereafter referred to as Perry's "Reprints."

bers of the corporation appointed a committee to call an official meeting, as there was no regularly elected secretary to do so. Then the ten clergymen and six laymen⁴ who had answered the more general invitation convened upon the affairs of the Church, and decided to appoint two committees. The first, composed of Beach and Joshua Bloomer and Benjamin Moore of New York, was to visit the clergy of Connecticut and ask their cooperation in plans for the revival of the Church. The members of the second, which included, besides the three clergymen just named, Samuel Provoost of New York, Uzal Ogden and William Ayers from New Jersey, and White, Samuel Magaw and Robert Blackwell from Pennsylvania, were "to correspond with each other and with any other persons for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the concerns of said Church."⁵

This committee, supported by one appointed for the same purpose by the first diocesan convention of Pennsylvania (White being the most active member of both committees), called a second interstate meeting to convene in New York on October 6, 1784. The Pennsylvania committee, which had been authorized to cooperate with Episcopalians of other states in forming a constitution, delegated its power to such of its members as might attend the New York convention.⁶

Meanwhile, Beach, Bloomer and Benjamin Moore, as requested, had attended the Connecticut convention of clergy, June 8-9, 1784,⁷ and Beach in a letter to White, dated June 19, 1784,⁸ reported that "the Clergy there appear well disposed to join the Episcopal Church in the other States, in forming Regulations for the government of it, and for preserving uniformity of worship." But they ran into an objection on the part of the Connecticut clergy which was to play an important part in all proceedings of the next five years until the final adoption of the Church's constitution in 1789. Beach's statement of it is as follows:

⁴The clergymen were Drs. White and Magaw, and Robert Blackwell of Pennsylvania; Beach, Frazer and Ogden of New Jersey; Bloomer, Bowden, Benjamin Moore and Thomas Moore of New York.

The laymen were probably all from New Jersey: James Parker, John Stevens and Richard Stevens from Perth Amboy; John Dennis from New Brunswick; Cols. Hoyt and Furman have not been identified.

⁵Minutes, White Mss., Vol. I.; General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, Philadelphia, 1817, preface. Also, Perry, *ibid.*, III., pp. 7-8.

⁶Typewritten transcript of records in the Christ Church Vestry Book, in the office of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

⁷For the minutes of this convention, see, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, III (1934), pp. 57-58.

⁸Perry, *ibid.*, III., p. 12.

"They, indeed, made some Objection with respect to *Lay Delegates*. We informed them, in answer to their Objections, that it was thought necessary in some of the States, particularly in Pennsylvania, to associate some respectable Characters amongst the Laity, in order to give weight and importance to the Church; but we meant not to prescribe to *other States*—provided the *end* was obtained, we would not differ with them as to the *Means*, if they were only fair and honest. They replied, that they thought themselves fully adequate to the Business of representing the Episcopal Church in their State, and that the Laity did not *expect*, or *wish* to be called in as delegates on such an occasion; but would, with full confidence, trust matters *purely ecclesiastical* to their Clergy. They accordingly determined unanimously, to send a Comtee. of their body to represent the Episcopal Church of Connecticut at our intended Meeting in N. York, on the Tuesday after Michaelmas; and to get a representation of the States further eastward"

THE SECOND INTERSTATE MEETING OF 1784

On October 6th and 7th, 1784, the second interstate gathering, looking to the union of the Church, met in New York. Fifteen clerical and eleven lay delegates⁹ from eight states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, were in attendance. Virginia was *unofficially* represented by the Rev. David Griffith, since the Church and clergy of that state, "restricted by laws yet in force there, were not at liberty to send delegates or consent to any alterations in the Order, Government, Doctrine or Worship of the Church."¹⁰ Connecticut practically ruled itself out of the deliberations by a statement read by Marshall, their sole representative, "that the clergy of Connecticut had taken measures for the obtaining of an Episcopate; that until their design, in that particular, should be accomplished, they could do nothing; but that as soon as they should have succeeded, they would come forward, with their bishop, for the doing of what the general interests of the Church might require."¹¹

⁹MASS. and R. I.: Rev. Samuel Parker. CONN.: Rev. John R. Marshall. NEW YORK: Clergy—Provoost, Beach, Benj. Moore, Thomas Moore, Bloomer, Leonard Cutting; Laity—James Duane, Marinus Willet, John Alsop. NEW JERSEY: Clergy—Uzal Ogden; Laity—John DeHart, John Chetwood, Samuel Spragg. PENN.: Clergy—Drs. White and Magaw, Joseph Hutchins; Laity—Matthew Clarkson, Richard Willing, Samuel Powell, Richard Peters. DELAWARE: Clergy—Sydenham Thorn, Charles Wharton; Laity—Robert Clay. MARYLAND: Dr. William Smith.

¹⁰General Convention, *Journals, 1784-1814*, preface; fragmentary minutes, signed by William Smith, president of the Convention, *White Mss., Vol. I. Also, Perry, "Reprints," III., pp. 3-5*, for accessible copy of the proceedings.

¹¹White, *Memoirs of the Church*, 2nd ed., p. 81.

This left only Parker of Massachusetts and the Pennsylvania delegation as *authorized* representatives, and "even from these states, there was no further authority, than to deliberate and propose. Accordingly, the acts of the body were in the form of recommendation and proposal."¹² Parker read to the meeting the resolutions and circular letter authorized by the Massachusetts and Rhode Island convention of September 8, 1784, stating that they had adopted the Pennsylvania resolutions of the previous May 25th, with two minor qualifications, "but it is our unanimous Opinion that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our Church before we have obtained a head."¹³

Undeterred by these obstacles, the meeting organized with the Rev. Dr. William Smith as president and the Rev. Benjamin Moore as secretary. A committee of clerical and lay deputies, consisting of the Rev. Drs. Smith and White, Rev. Messrs. Parker and Provoost, and Messrs. Clarkson, DeHart, Clay and Duane, was appointed "to essay the fundamental principles of a general Constitution," and "to frame and propose to the Convention, a proper substitute for the State Prayers in the Liturgy, to be used for the sake of uniformity, till a further Review shall be undertaken by general Authority and Consent of the Church."¹⁴

On October 7th the meeting, after considering and amending the report of the committee, recommended to the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church in the states not represented in New York as well as in those which were, that the Church be organized in the states where no organization had yet been effected, and that "they unite in a general ecclesiastical Constitution, on the following fundamental Principles:"¹⁵

1. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
2. That the Episcopal Church in each State, send Deputies to the Convention, consisting of Clergy and Laity.
3. That associated Congregations in two or more States may send Deputies jointly.
4. That the said Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall

¹²White, *Memoirs of the Church*, 2nd ed., p. 80.

¹³Perry, *ibid.*, III., p. 5. For details of the Massachusetts Convention, see above, Dr. Stowe's article, in this issue.

¹⁴Perry, *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵General Convention, *Journals*, 1784-1814, Preface; White Mss., Vol. I. Also, Perry, *ibid.*, III., p. 4.

- be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States.
5. That in every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex-officio*.
 6. That the Clergy and Laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one Body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give Validity to every Measure.
 7. That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at *Philadelphia*, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next; to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, That the Episcopal Churches in the respective States, will send their Clerical and Lay Deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary Business herein proposed for their Deliberation.

In estimating the importance of this second interstate meeting the opinion of Bishop White is weighty:¹⁶

“At the present day, it may seem to have been of little consequence, to gain so considerable an assent, to what was determined at this meeting. But at the time in question, when the crisis presented a subject of deliberation entirely new, it was difficult to detach it in the minds of many, from a past habitual train of thinking. Some were startled at the very circumstance, of taking the stand of an independent Church. There was a much more common prejudice against the embracing of the laity in a scheme of ecclesiastical legislation. Besides these things, the confessed necessity of accommodating the service to the newly established civil constitution of the country, naturally awakened apprehensions of unlimited licence. Hence the restriction to the English liturgy, except in accomodation to the revolution; which restriction was not acquiesced in, as will be seen.”

The next eleven months witnessed the organization of the Church in most of the states and the election of deputies to the more general convention to be held in September of 1785 in Philadelphia.¹⁷

THE CONVENTION OF 1785

September 27 to October 7

The convention of 1785 which included 16 clerical and 26 lay delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland,

¹⁶White, *Memoirs*, p. 81.

¹⁷For these organizing state or diocesan conventions, see above in this issue, W. H. Stowe, “The State or Diocesan Conventions of the Post-War Period.”

Virginia and South Carolina, might be called the constitutional convention of the Church, except that such a title would be inadequate to describe its accomplishments. It had before it three great problems: to form a constitution, to adapt the Prayer Book to the changed circumstances of the Church, and to secure the episcopate. Upon all of these subjects it took significant action. Its constitution began the continuous development of our Church government and determined its general pattern, except in one important respect—the bicameral character of General Convention, which was not fixed until 1789. The liturgical changes which it proposed, though they never received the formal sanction of the Church, exerted an important influence upon the first official revision, in 1789, and, therefore, upon the entire subsequent history of the American Prayer Book.

After organizing, with White as president and the Reverend David Griffith of Virginia as secretary, the convention proceeded to the consideration of the seven articles proposed in 1784. Of these it approved all except the fourth, but it attached to the sixth article the "explanation" that the deputies were to "vote according to the states from which they come and not individually." Instead of accepting the fourth article, it resolved to appoint a committee, composed of one clerical and one lay deputy from each state, to report such alterations in the liturgy as would "render it consistent with the American revolution and the constitutions of the respective states," and to suggest such further changes, beyond this necessary minimum, as it thought expedient for the convention to recommend to the Church.¹⁸

Ultimately, this work, the preparation of a constitution, and the formulation of a plan for obtaining bishops were entrusted to the same committee, composed as above,¹⁹ and thereafter the sessions of the convention were taken up chiefly with the consideration and approval of the work of this committee. As no detailed report of its proceedings was kept, it is impossible to say just what parts were played in its work by individual members. It is quite certain that White and probably Smith (who was chairman) exercised an influential leadership, because of their prominence in the whole convention movement,

¹⁸*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 5-6. The membership of the committee was as follows: The Rev. Samuel Provoost and James Duane of New York; The Rev. Abraham Beach and Patrick Dennis of New Jersey; The Rev. Dr. William White and Richard Peters of Pennsylvania; The Rev. Charles H. Wharton and James Sykes of Delaware; The Rev. Dr. William Smith and Dr. Thomas Cradock of Maryland; The Rev. David Griffith and John Page of Virginia; The Rev. Dr. Henry Purcell and Jacob Read of South Carolina.*

¹⁹See above footnote 18.

and it is probable that Provoost, Beach and Griffith also played roles of some importance.²⁰

The constitution, as finally submitted to the states, embodied the fundamental principles set forth in White's *Case* and in the six principles adopted by the Pennsylvania state convention under his leadership. It provided that there should be a general convention of the Church, which should meet every three years, beginning in 1786. Each state should be represented by from one to four clerical and the same number of lay deputies, and should have one vote on every question. There should also be a convention of clerical and lay delegates in every state.

In any state where there was a bishop duly consecrated and settled, who had acceded to the constitution, he should be, *ex officio*, a member of the convention. Each state was free to determine the mode of electing its bishop, and every bishop was to confine the exercise of his office to his proper jurisdiction, unless asked to ordain or confirm "by any church destitute of a Bishop." A Protestant Episcopal Church in any state not represented might be admitted to the General Convention on accepting the constitution.

Every minister, from the bishop down, was to be amenable to his state convention, and each convention was to provide rules for the conduct of its clergy, and an equitable mode of trial. The revision of the liturgy prepared by this convention was to become the official order of the Church as soon as it was approved by the states represented. Until then, the Prayer Book of the Church of England, modified to conform to the change in civil government, was to be in force. No one was to be ordained or permitted to officiate in the Church until he had declared his belief in the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, and promised conformity to the doctrine and worship of the Church as set forth in the Prayer Book. The constitution, when ratified by the several states, was to be fundamental, and unalterable by the action of any state.²¹

The revised liturgy recommended by this convention—usually known as the *Proposed Book*—never received official acceptance, but

²⁰Bishop White states (*Memoirs*, 2nd ed., p. 97) that the committee was divided into sub-committees; that the constitution was drafted by himself in a sub-committee; that he drafted in sub-committee the resolutions covering the plan for obtaining the consecration of bishops and the address to the arch-bishops and bishops of the Church of England (p. 101); that the alterations in the Book of Common Prayer "were prepared by another sub-division of the general committee than that to which the author belonged. When brought into the committee, they were not reconsidered; because the ground would have been to go over again in the convention" (p. 103); that the service for the Fourth of July, to which he (White) was opposed, was arranged by Dr. Smith (p. 105).

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

it is important because of the influence which it exerted over later revisions.²² The leaders of the convention movement ranged in Churchmanship from decidedly low to middle-of-the-road, and the *Proposed Book* reflected their views, both in the freedom with which it deviated from the English book—in spite of the denial in its preface of an intention to depart from the usage of the Church of England “any farther than local circumstances require”—and in the character of the principal changes.²³

Bishop White's explanation for the radical departure from the conservative recommendation of the New York meeting of 1784 concerning the revision of the Prayer Book, is as follows:²⁴

“When the members of the convention first came together, very few, or rather, it is believed, none of them entertained thoughts of altering the liturgy, any further than to accommodate it to the revolution. There being no express authority to the purpose, the contrary was implied in the sending of deputies, on the ground of the recommendation and proposal from New York, which presumed that the book, with the above exception, should remain entire. The only Church to which this remark does not apply, is that of Virginia; which authorized its deputies to join in a review, liable however to a rejection by their own convention. Every one, so far as is here known, wished for alterations in the different offices. But it was thought at New York, in the preceding year, that such an enterprise could not be undertaken, until the Church should be consolidated and organized. Perhaps it would have been better, if the same opinion had been continued and acted on.

“But it happened otherwise. Some of the members hesitated at making the book so permanent, as it would have been by the fourth article of the recommendatory instrument. Arguments were held in favor of a review, from change of language, and from the notorious fact, that there were some matters universally held exceptionable, independently on doctrine. A moderate review, fell in with the sentiments and the wishes of every member. Added to all this, there gained ground a confident persuasion, that the general mind of the communion would be so gratified by it, as that acquiescence might be confidently expected. On these considerations, the matter was undertaken.”

²²*The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies, as Revised and Proposed to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1785.* Cf. also, William McGarvey, *Liturgiae Americanae*, Philadelphia, 1907, where the *Proposed Book*, the *English book*, and the *American books* of 1789 and 1892 are arranged in parallel columns.

²³In 1873 the *Proposed Book* was adopted as the *Prayer Book* of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

²⁴White, *Memoirs*, 2nd Ed., pp. 102-103.

The most controversial of these changes were the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the deletion of the descensus clause from the Apostles' Creed, and the excision of the word "regenerate" from the Baptismal Service, except in the opening prayer, where it occurs in a scriptural context. Some of the rest were also of doctrinal significance, but others were merely modifications in language or arrangement. Certain expressions were modernized, "those who" being substituted for "them that" in several places, and "naughty" being replaced by "wicked." The words "priest" and "curate" in the rubrics were changed to "minister" and "pastor." All references to Satan were omitted, and a number of imprecatory passages were deleted.

In the service of Morning Prayer, two opening sentences were added to those already provided. The *Gloria Patria* was omitted at the end of the canticles, and of individual psalms, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in an abbreviated form, was printed as an alternative for it at the end of the whole selection of psalms. The last verse of the *Te Deum* was dropped, and the *Benedicite* was left out altogether. The second reading of the Lord's Prayer, before the versicles, was discontinued, and some of the versicles were dispensed with, as was the reading of the collect for the day, probably because it was then the prevailing practice to include the Ante-Communion Office in the morning service. The Litany was printed as a part of Morning Prayer, following the collect for grace, but was not materially altered from the English form, except in the state prayers.

In the Evening Prayer, a curious alteration was made in the collect for aid against perils, where "Lighten our darkness" was changed to "Enlighten our minds," apparently from a fear that the former expression might be taken literally. The prayer for all conditions of men and the general thanksgiving, not included in the English form of Evening Prayer, were added from the morning service.

A special prayer of thanksgiving was added for a woman after childbirth, to take the place of the service for the Churching of Women, which was omitted. The Commination Office, a service of warning and penitence for Ash Wednesday, was dropped because of its imprecatory character, but some of the penitential prayers from it were retained for use at the morning service on that day.

The Lord's Prayer and the Creed were both omitted from the Communion Service, and the *Gloria in Excelsis* was shortened by deleting the repetitive phrases. The requirement that those intending to receive communion must notify the minister the day before was discontinued.

In the baptismal service the changes which provoked most discussion were the omission of the word "regenerate," already mentioned, and the inclusion of a rubric permitting the disuse of the sign of the cross, if the sponsors objected to it. A more serious departure in principle was involved in the changing of the pledges given by the sponsors, who, instead of making promises on behalf of the child, merely vowed on their own account to see that he was brought up in the Christian faith. Principles, however, affect most people less than symbols, and this radical alteration actually attracted less attention at the time than the others did.

The relevant parts of the catechism and the confirmation service were changed to conform to the alterations in Baptism. In the catechism, the definition of the "inward part" of the sacrament of Holy Communion was also changed by altering the phrase "verily and indeed taken and received," to "spiritually taken and received," which was supposed to express more accurately the meaning intended.²⁵ The rubric requiring all persons confirmed to have a "Godfather, or a Godmother, as a witness of their Confirmation" was left out.

The little lecture on the nature of holy matrimony, which opens the English Marriage Service, was omitted, and so was the whole concluding part of the service, containing a psalm, some versicles, several prayers, and a final exhortation, thus giving the American service an abrupt and hurried character, which it still retains. The phrases, "I plight thee my troth" and "With my body I thee worship" were taken out, probably because they were thought obsolete.

The psalms used in the offices for the visitation of the sick and the burial of the dead, and other special services, were abbreviated by the omission of verses not considered directly relevant. The prayer in the burial office which immediately followed the Lord's Prayer was dropped, perhaps because its tone was thought to be too gloomy. Special services were added for use on the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving Day, and for the Visitation of Prisoners.

The revision being completed, White, Smith, and the Reverend Charles Wharton were appointed a committee to prepare it for publication, and were authorized "to make verbal and grammatical corrections; but in such manner, as that nothing in form or substance be altered," and to furnish a suitable preface.²⁶

The third great task of the convention was to obtain the episcopate from England. The Church in America already had one bishop, Samuel Seabury of Connecticut having been consecrated by the bishops

²⁵McGarvey, *op. cit.*, p. 304, n.

²⁶*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, p. 15; Correspondence in White Mss., Vol. I., and Smith Mss., Vol. II.*

of the Scottish Church in 1784. The consecration of others might have been secured from the same source, but to the leaders of the convention movement, it seemed preferable that the Episcopal Church in the United States should derive its succession from the Church of England, to which, in the words of the Prayer Book, she was "indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection."

Seabury's experience was helpful in obtaining this end. Before applying to the Scottish leaders, he had had a number of conferences with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London, in an effort to obtain the episcopal office in England. They gave him a number of reasons why they were unwilling to seek the necessary authority from parliament for his consecration, the most important being: that there was no official assurance that the act would not be objectionable to the civil authorities in Connecticut; that the laity had not concurred in his election, so that there was no certainty of his being received as a bishop; that his jurisdiction had not been clearly defined; and that no means had been provided for his support. These objections were reported to William Smith by Seabury after his return, and were taken into account in preparing the convention's plan.²⁷ Moreover, there is evidence that a fear lest the American Church should obtain its succession from the politically obnoxious Church in Scotland increased the readiness of the leaders of the Establishment to work out a plan for conferring that succession in England.²⁸

The plan as drafted by White and finally adopted, provided that the convention should address the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England and request them to consecrate such fit persons as might be elected bishops by the several states represented; that it should recommend to the state conventions to elect such persons, and to certify that they had been chosen by the laity as well as by the clergy and would be received by them as bishops on their return; that the deputies then assembled should petition their civil rulers for certificates of the legality of their application; and, finally, that, as the American bishops would have no temporal power, and as their "reputation and usefulness" would "considerably depend on their taking no higher titles or stile" than would be "due to their spiritual employments," they should be distinguished simply as "The Right Rev. A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D."²⁹ The plan did not deal

²⁷Seabury to Smith, Aug. 15, 1785, *White Mss.*, Vol. I. Cf. also, E. E. Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D. D.*, Boston, 1881, pp. 108-22.

²⁸Granville Sharp to Canterbury, Sept. 13, 1785 (copy), *Smith Mss.*, Vol. II.

²⁹General Convention, *Journals*, 1784-1814, pp. 11-12.

specifically with the problem of support, but that was provided for, as far as it could be in the impoverished condition of the Church, by the choice of bishops already settled in parochial cures.

The address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England,³⁰ also drafted by Dr. White³¹ and dated October 5, 1785, is one of the great "State" papers of this Church.

After stating that the "Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, think it our duty to address your Lordships on a subject deeply interesting, not only to ourselves and those whom we represent, but, as we conceive, to the common cause of Christianity," the address points out that "our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity, did not leave the bosom of that Church over which your Lordships now preside." Because of "veneration for Episcopal government" and "attachment to the admirable services of our Liturgy," and in spite of "many local inconveniences" to which they were subjected, "rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged," they "continued in willing connection with their ecclesiastical superiors in England."

When this part of the British empire became "free, sovereign, and independent, it became the most important concern of the members of our Communion to provide for its continuance." And while "that wise and liberal part of the system of the Church of England which excludes as well the claiming as the acknowledging of such spiritual subjection as may be inconsistent with the civil duties of her children,"

"it was nevertheless their earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government handed down to them, as they conceive, from the time of the Apostles, and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy Bishops of the primitive Church, of the blessed Martyrs who reformed the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, and of the many great and pious Prelates who have adorned that Church in every succeeding age."

"So diffused and unconnected were the members of our Communion over this extensive country," and so much time and negotiation were "necessary for the forming of a representative body," that "it was not until this Convention that sufficient powers could be procured for the addressing your Lordships on this subject."

"The petition which we offer your Venerable Body is—that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious prin-

³⁰Perry, *Reprints of G. C. Journal*, I., pp. 26-27.

³¹See above, footnote #20.

ciples with the Church of England, you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by this Church in the several States here represented—full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively, to receive them in the quality of Bishops.”

It was explained “that in these States there is a separation between the concerns of policy and those of religion;” that therefore “our civil rulers cannot officially join in the present application.” They however do not apprehend any “opposition or even displeasure” from the political authorities; for “in this business we are justified by the Constitutions of the States,” and extracts from the state constitutions are enclosed to prove it.

The address ends on a very high plane. Whether or not the petition is granted, the American Church is grateful for the past services of the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England and their predecessors, especially the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Bishops of London.

“All the Bishops of England with other distinguished characters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, have concurred in forming and carrying on the benevolent views of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts: a Society to whom, under God, the prosperity of our Church is in an eminent degree to be ascribed. It is our earnest wish to be permitted to make, through your Lordships, this just acknowledgment to that venerable Society . . . the long succession of former benefits passes in review before us; we pray that our Church may be a lasting monument of the usefulness of so worthy a body; and that her sons may never cease to be kindly affectioned to the members of that Church, the Fathers of which have so tenderly watched over her infancy.”

The appeal to the American authorities met with generous response. Governors Patrick Henry of Virginia and George Clinton of New York, and the governing council of Pennsylvania, furnished the desired certificates for their respective states,³² and the president of Congress, R. H. Lee, and the secretary of state for foreign affairs, John Jay, furnished them on behalf of the general government. Lee also wrote privately to his “near relation,” the Bishop of Chester, in support of the measure, and John Adams, American minister to the Court of St. James, intervened unofficially in its favor.³³

³²W. S. Perry, *“Historical Notes and Documents,”* pp. 281-282.

³³*Provost to White, Oct. 25, 1785, and Apr. 4, 1786, and R. H. Lee to White, May 13, 1786, White Mss., Vol. I.*

These measures removed the objections previously entertained to the consecration of an American bishop, but the publication of the *Proposed Book* raised a fresh set of difficulties. Exaggerated rumors which reached England before any copies of the book itself arrived, caused the archbishops to fear that it represented a complete abandonment of traditional Christian orthodoxy, in favor of "Socinianism," or Unitarianism.³⁴ When they finally received a copy, through the good offices of Benjamin Franklin, they found it less radical than they feared, but they still felt that the omission of two of the ancient creeds and the alteration of the third represented a greater departure from the English liturgy than was required by "local circumstances." They also objected to the subjecting of a bishop to trial by his own convention, as was done by Article VIII of the constitution.³⁵

THE CONVENTION OF 1786

June 20-26 and October 10-11

There has been some disagreement as to whether the convention of 1786, or that of 1789, deserves to be called the first General Convention of the Church. In favor of that of 1789 it is urged that it was the first to contain a full representation of the Church in the United States and the first to have a House of Bishops, and that it gave the final ratification to the constitution. The arguments in favor of the convention of 1786 are that it was assembled in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, even if that document had not been formally ratified; that it began the triennial succession; and that, while it included representatives from only seven states, provision was made for the admission of others whenever they could be induced to come in.

The states represented in 1786 (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina) were all those outside of New England in which the Church had shown any signs of life at all. The absence of New England delegates was the result, partly of their distance from Philadelphia, where the convention met, but chiefly of their dislike of some of the fundamental principles and of their uncertainty as to the attitude which the convention would take toward Bishop Seabury.

Though there were a few radicals among its members who professed to doubt the validity of Seabury's orders, and would have closed

³⁴Alexander Murray to White, Dec. 26, 1785, and June 8, 1786; Jacob Duche to White, Jan. 30, 1786, *White Mss.*, Vol. I; Granville Sharp to Benjamin Franklin, Aug. 19, 1786, *Smith Mss.*, Vol. II.; William White, *The Past and the Future, a Charge on Events Connected with the Organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Philadelphia, 1834, p. 8.

³⁵*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814*, pp. 32-33, 35.

the door to his reception entirely, the more conservative leaders sincerely desired his ultimate admission, in order that the Church might be united throughout the country, and had urged his attendance in 1786.³⁶ Nevertheless, they were probably relieved by his absence in that year, since it enabled them to proceed with less embarrassment in their plan for obtaining the succession from England. They seem, moreover, to have suspected—perhaps with some justification—that Seabury was disposed to extend his jurisdiction beyond the boundaries of Connecticut, at least until the other states had bishops.³⁷

Seabury, on his part, objected to the failure of the constitution to provide for the presidency of a bishop at the convention; to the representation of the laity in Church government; to the subjection of bishops to trial by their own conventions, and to many of the changes of the *Proposed Book*.³⁸ He and his followers held that the reorganization of the Church should have been made to wait upon the obtaining of bishops, and that Connecticut, having secured its bishop first, should be allowed to lead in the formation of a general government. Those who participated in the convention movement held that the organization must come first, as a practical necessity, in view of the conditions under which the Church existed in most of the states, and that those who had worked out a plan of organization should have the palm of leadership.

Two measures were introduced by the radicals in the General Convention of 1786 which would have made any union with the Church in Connecticut impossible if they had been adopted. The first of them, proposed by the Reverend Robert Smith of South Carolina, had an innocent sound. It merely provided that the clergy present should "produce their letters of orders, or declare by whom they were ordained," but, as there was at least one minister present (the Reverend Joseph Pilmore of Pennsylvania) who had been ordained by Seabury, this would have brought the whole question of Seabury's consecration before the convention. The second proposal, also put forward by Robert Smith, and seconded by Provoost, was more specific. It was, "That this Convention will resolve to do no act that shall imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury." Debate on both of these resolutions was shut off by the moving of the previous question by William Smith, seconded by White, and they were defeated. On

³⁶Samuel Parker to White, Sept. 14, 1785, and Seabury to White, Jan. 8, 1786, *White Mss.*, Vol. I.; W. S. Perry, "The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Bishop White," *Church Review*, Mar., 1887-Jan., 1888, p. 600.

³⁷William Smith to Seabury (draft, undated), *White Mss.*, Vol. II.

³⁸Seabury to White, Aug. 19, 1785, and Jan. 8, 1786, and Parker to White, Sept. 14, 1785, *White Mss.*, Vol. I.

the second, the vote was recorded by states. New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina voted aye. Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia voted no.³⁹

The defeat of these proposals left the door open to Seabury, but two other resolutions, which were passed unanimously, suggest that it was not the intention of even the more conservative leaders to leave it open very wide. The first of these, introduced by White, recommended to the states in union with the convention, "not to receive to the pastoral charge within their respective limits, Clergymen professing canonical subjection to any Bishop, in any state or country, other than those Bishops who may be duly settled in the states represented in this Convention." The second, introduced by Robert Smith, recommended to the same states, not to admit any persons who received ordination from any bishop residing in America, while the application to the English bishops was pending.⁴⁰

The communication received from the English bishops, in answer to the address sent to them by the convention of 1785, stated that the design of conferring the episcopate on America was "not likely to receive any discountenance from the civil powers" and that the bishops would do their best to secure the necessary authority from Parliament, but that, though they had not yet any official report of the changes in the ecclesiastical system, they had heard disquieting rumors concerning them, and must wait for assurance that the American Church had not departed from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England in any essential point, before they finally consented to the desired consecration.⁴¹ The convention, in reply, assured their lordships that no such departure had been intended, and expressed the conviction that a perusal of the proposed constitution and liturgy would show that none had been made.⁴²

A number of changes were made in the constitution, some of them obviously designed to meet objections expressed in England and Connecticut. It was provided that a bishop should always preside over General Convention whenever one was present. A member of the episcopal order must always be present at the trial of a bishop, and none but a bishop could pronounce sentence of deposition against any clergyman. The *Proposed Book* was authorized for use in any states which might approve it, "till further provision is made in this case, by the first General Convention which shall assemble with sufficient power

³⁹*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 19, 21.*

⁴⁰*Ibid., pp. 22-3.*

⁴¹*Ibid., pp. 19-20. This letter was signed by Canterbury and York and eighteen bishops.*

⁴²*Ibid., pp. 27-28.*

to ratify a Book of Common Prayer for the Church in these states." Provision was made for the examination of candidates for ordination, the date for the meeting of General Convention was changed, and the final ratification of the constitution was left to a future session.⁴³

As the completion of measures for obtaining the episcopate must await a definite reply from the English bishops, the convention appointed a committee of correspondence, with power to call a special meeting whenever a majority thought it necessary, and then, after resolving that its next meeting should be held in Wilmington, Delaware, adjourned.⁴⁴

The committee, having received from the Archbishops a statement of the conditions on which they would be willing to consecrate American bishops, and information of the passage of an act of Parliament authorizing such consecration, called the convention to reassemble on October 10th, 1786. The requirements laid down by the archbishops showed both a sympathetic regard for the problems of the American Church, and a conscientious desire to safeguard the dignity and integrity of the episcopate. As the candidates sent over could not be well known to those who were to consecrate them, they were to be furnished with testimonials both from the General Convention and from their diocesan conventions. The former need only certify that the signers knew no serious defect in the candidate in respect to either doctrine or morals, and no just impediment to his consecration. The latter was to contain a positive declaration that the members of the convention had known the bishop-elect for at least three years and believed him to be sufficient in good learning, virtue and orthodoxy for the office to which he was chosen.

As to the candidates' own declaration of belief, the archbishops expressed themselves as satisfied with the form of subscription required by the constitution, but they earnestly exhorted the convention to restore at least the Apostles' Creed to its integrity before the declaration was signed, and they expressed the hope that the other two creeds would be reinstated, even if their use was made optional, and that the eighth article of the constitution would be modified. This address, though signed only by Canterbury and York, had been prepared after consultation with fifteen bishops who were then in London. In a very real sense, the conferring of the succession upon the American Church may be said to have been the act of the entire English episcopate.⁴⁵

After hearing this communication, the convention proceeded to go as far as its members felt that they conscientiously could in meeting

⁴³*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 22-26.*

⁴⁴*Ibid., pp. 26, 29.*

⁴⁵*Ibid., pp. 32-38.*

the wishes expressed in it. The descensus clause was restored to the Apostles' Creed, and the Nicene Creed was replaced in the liturgy, but the Athanasian Creed was still rejected, and no further change was made in Article VIII. A brief address was sent to the archbishops, thanking them for their assistance, and calling attention to these changes.⁴⁶

The meeting then called upon the several delegations to know if any states had chosen candidates for the episcopate. New York reported the election of the Reverend Samuel Provoost, and Pennsylvania, of the Reverend William White, and it was learned that Virginia had chosen the Reverend David Griffith, though no deputation from that state was present at the adjourned session. Testimonials for these three were accordingly signed.⁴⁷

Maryland had elected William Smith bishop as early as 1783, and the election had not been rescinded, but the deputies to General Convention were unwilling to sign his testimonials because of a charge that he had been intoxicated at the convention of 1784. Whether or not the charge was true it is impossible to say at this distance. It was believed by many who were present in 1784, but it did not prevent Smith's being called later to positions of trust and importance. Probably it was felt that the men sent to England should be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion.⁴⁸

One of the three whose testimonials were signed was also destined never to receive consecration. David Griffith failed to obtain sufficient cooperation from either the standing committee or the convention in Virginia to make it possible for him to go to England.⁴⁹ White and Provoost sailed shortly after the convention adjourned and were consecrated on February 4th, 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and of Peterborough.⁵⁰

AFTERMATH OF THE CONVENTION OF 1786

The consecration of two instead of three bishops in the English line proved a source of embarrassment to those who desired the union of the Church. It naturally led to suggestions that the two should unite with Seabury to consecrate a fourth bishop and such proposals

⁴⁶*General Conventions, Journals, 1784-1814*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁸*Correspondence on the subject in White Mss., Vol. I.; H. W. Smith, Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D., Philadelphia, 1880, Vol. II., pp. 100, 450-55; Perry, White, p. 472.*

⁴⁹*Letters of Griffith to White during 1786 and later, White Mss., Vol. II.*

⁵⁰*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, p. 47.*

were bound to meet with outspoken opposition from Provoost, who had been one of Seabury's most bitter opponents in the convention of 1786. Being a Low Churchman, with Latitudinarian leanings,⁵¹ he objected to the High Churchmanship of the Bishop of Connecticut. He also disliked his politics, having been an ardent Whig during the Revolution, in which Seabury had been an equally ardent Tory, and he looked upon the Non-Jurors, from whom Seabury derived his orders, as a sect "whose slavish and absurd tenets were a disgrace to humanity."⁵²

White, though he earnestly desired the union of the Church throughout the country, desired an English succession almost as earnestly, and professed to regard himself as under an implied promise to the archbishops not to unite in any episcopal act with the Bishop of Connecticut until the English line was completed by the consecration of a third bishop.⁵³

During the two years and a half that elapsed between the consecration of White and Provoost and the General Convention of 1789, the question of the ultimate union of the Church remained in suspense. When the two bishops returned to America, Seabury made a final attempt to assert his leadership by inviting them to confer with him on the affairs of the Church. Provoost never replied to his letter at all. White answered politely, but in such a way as to make it clear that the final settlement of ecclesiastical questions must be left to General Convention.⁵⁴

Seabury and the other Connecticut clergy and their friends in England continued to exchange letters with White, but without definite result. The correspondence is chiefly important as showing a growing anxiety on their side lest Connecticut should be left out of the union, and an increasing recognition that she could not hope to come in upon her own terms. One of their most copious writers, the Reverend Jeremiah Leaming, at times becomes almost hysterical, accusing Dr. Joseph Priestly and other unlikely persons of plotting against the union of the Church.⁵⁵

White, on his part, concerned himself principally with trying to overcome the passive resistance of the Virginia standing committee so as to secure the consecration of Dr. Griffith, and complete the English succession. In the end it was, perhaps, fortunate that he did not suc-

⁵¹*Provoost to White, June 10, 1786, White Mss., Vol. I.*

⁵²*Beardsley, op. cit., p. 254.*

⁵³*White to Seabury, Aug. 11, 1789, (draft), White Mss., Vol. II.*

⁵⁴*Seabury to White, May 1, 1787, White Mss., Vol. II.; Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 300-3.*

⁵⁵*White Mss., Vol. II.; Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 293-355.*

ceed, for Griffith died early in August, 1789, and so would not have been able to serve the Church as bishop had he been consecrated.⁵⁶

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1789

July 28-August 8 and September 29-October 16

The General Convention of 1789, at its opening session, included delegations from the same seven states that had been represented in 1785 and 1786. Bishop Provoost was prevented by illness from attending. He had endeavored to tie the hands of the New York deputation by having them instructed not to accept any changes in the constitution or take any steps which might "endanger the preservation of the succession of our Bishops in the English line,"⁵⁷ but they refused to treat these instructions as binding. The most influential representative from New York in Provoost's absence was the Reverend Benjamin Moore, who, as it happened, had been one of the signers of Seabury's testimonials, when he went to seek consecration,⁵⁸ and the other members of the deputation were sincerely anxious to see the Church united.

This sentiment, in fact, prevailed throughout the convention, and, while there was an evident resolution not to depart in any essential respect from the principles already agreed upon, there was also a clearly manifested readiness to make any concessions not involving such a departure which might reconcile the Churchmen of New England to the constitution. Understanding from letters written by him to White and William Smith that the Bishop of Connecticut felt that doubt had been cast by the last convention upon the validity of his orders, the deputies present unanimously resolved, "That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the episcopal office is valid."⁵⁹

The diocese of Massachusetts, in an endeavor to unite the two parts of the Church, had presented a petition asking Bishops Seabury, White and Provoost to unite in consecrating the Reverend Edward Bass, rector at Newbury, as its bishop. When this request was communicated to the General Convention, it resolved, "That a complete order of Bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots line of Episcopacy doth now subsist within the United States of America." White and Provoost were requested to unite with Seabury in the desired consecration, and if either of them felt any delicacy about doing so, in consequence of any supposed commitment to the English archbishops,

⁵⁶*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814*, p. 52.

⁵⁷*Provoost to White, Aug. 26, Sept. 7, and Sept. 24, White Mss., Vol. II.*

⁵⁸*Beardsley, op. cit., opp. 80, ff.*

⁵⁹*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814*, p. 51.

the convention itself would endeavor to have the difficulty removed.⁶⁰

The constitution was revised again and given final approval. Most of the changes were concessions to the New England position, the general principle followed being that of allowing as much freedom as possible, upon disputed points, to the individual diocese. Thus, though it was still provided that each state should be entitled to representation in both orders, it was stipulated that a state which neglected or declined to elect delegates in more than one order should still be regarded as properly represented and entitled to vote. The make-up of the state conventions was left to local decision. The mode of trying the clergy had always been left to diocesan authority, by the much disputed Article VIII, and the principle of this article, which now became number six, was not changed, though its language was.

It was also provided that, when there were three bishops in union with General Convention, they should form a separate "house of revision," which could veto but not originate legislation, and whose negative could be overridden by a vote of three-fifths of the deputies. Whatever Prayer Book might be established by this or a succeeding General Convention was to be binding upon all the states subject to the constitution, and the constitution itself was not to be altered except by the action of two successive General Conventions.⁶¹

A small body of canons, covering the most essential points, was also adopted. Then, after appointing a committee to correspond with the archbishops, the diocese of Massachusetts, and Bishop Seabury, as might be necessary, the convention adjourned until the 29th of September, when it was hoped that delegates from New England would be present. The committee promptly wrote to Seabury urging his attendance at the adjourned meeting, their invitation being seconded by personal letters from White and William Smith, and received by return mail the gratifying news that he would come.⁶²

When the convention reassembled, Seabury was present, with the Reverend Bela Hubbard and the Reverend Abraham Jarvis as deputies from Connecticut; and the Reverend Samuel Parker was in attendance as deputy from both Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The meeting, after going into committee of the whole on the subject of union with the "eastern churches," resolved that the constitution was still open to amendment by the present body in virtue of the powers lodged

⁶⁰*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 49-50, 53-64.*

⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

⁶²*Committee to Seabury, Aug. 16, 1789 (draft), and Smith to Seabury same date (draft), Smith Mss., Vol. II.; White to Seabury, Aug. 11, 1789 (draft) and Seabury to White, Aug. 27, 1789, White Mss., Vol. II.*

in its members when elected, and appointed a committee to confer with the New England delegation.

The committee reported that the easterners would have no objection to the present constitution if the House of Bishops was made a fully coordinate branch of the legislature. An amendment was promptly passed which, though it did not meet this specification entirely, went a long way toward doing so. The bishops were given the power of originating legislation, and the majority required to override their veto was raised to four-fifths. With this concession the New Englanders were satisfied, and on October 2nd, 1789, they subscribed to the constitution.

Bishop Provoost was still absent, because of ill health, but as there were now three bishops legally in union with the Convention, the constitutional requirement was fulfilled, and so Seabury and White withdrew to form the first House of Bishops. William Smith was elected first president of the House of Deputies.⁶³

The chief business that remained was the revision of the liturgy, and to this task the two houses now devoted themselves. They proceeded, officially, as though there were no Prayer Book of the Church in existence, though their work was actually based upon the English Book of Common Prayer as revised in 1785. The deputies appointed committees "to prepare a calendar, and tables of lessons . . . to prepare a morning and evening service . . . to prepare a Litany," etc., and both houses voted on the services in their entirety when they were revised.⁶⁴

Some of the changes proposed in 1785 were rejected, but many were retained, and fresh alterations were made in a number of places where the *Proposed Book* had followed the English form. With respect to the deviations which had excited most controversy, a compromise was adopted. The Nicene Creed was restored, but its use was made optional. The descensus clause was replaced in the Apostles' Creed, but with a rubric permitting its omission.⁶⁵ The word "regenerate" was restored to the baptismal service, but the permission to omit the sign of the cross was continued, though a declaration was added to the effect that, "the Church knows no worthy cause of scruple concerning the same." The Athanasian Creed was still left out.⁶⁶

In the service of Morning Prayer, this new revision added the

⁶³*General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 71-75.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 78-93.

⁶⁵*It was at first, through a misunderstanding, printed in italics, and between brackets, but this was later corrected. Seabury to White, Nov. 1, 1789, and Mar. 29, 1790, White Mss., Vols. II and III.*

⁶⁶*Cf. any edition of the Prayer Book between 1789 and 1892, or McGarvey, op. cit.*

absolution from the Communion Office as an alternative to the one already provided. It altered the *Venite* to its present form by dropping the last four verses of psalm ninety-five and adding two verses from psalm ninety-six. It restored the *Benedicite*, but reversed the order of the *Benedictus* and *Jubilate*, and shortened the former to four verses. The Nicene Creed was printed as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed, an innovation in this book. The versicles were shortened even more than in 1785. The Litany was returned to its separate position, but not otherwise altered in any important respect.

The *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* were omitted from the evening service, and psalms ninety-two and 103 added in their place. The versicles were shortened, as in the Morning Prayer, and all reference to enlightenment was left out of the collect for aid against perils. The second prayer for use in time of famine and the prayer for use in time of "any common Plague or Sickness" were omitted from the special prayers, but the latter was replaced by a prayer considered more suitable to modern belief, and new prayers were added for a sick person, for a sick child, for persons going to sea, for persons under affliction, and for condemned criminals. The Commination Office was not restored.

The Lord's Prayer was replaced at the beginning of the Communion Service, and the word "priest" was put back in some of the rubrics of that service, but not in others, a distinction being maintained between those parts which should be read by the priest only, and those which might be read by a deacon. The Summary of the Law was added after the Ten Commandments, a borrowing from the usage of the Non-Jurors, and the collect which begins, "Oh, Almighty Lord . . ." was moved up from the end of the service to a place just before the collect for the day. Some phrases retained in the *Proposed Book* were omitted from the exhortation to repentance. The Oblation and Invocation were added from the Scottish book, to please Bishop Seabury, the Invocation being joined to the prayer, now printed as a separate paragraph, that begins, "And we earnestly desire . . .", which was a slightly altered form of the prayer that immediately followed the reception in the English book.

In the baptismal office the promises of the sponsors were given their traditional form, and the catechism and confirmation service changed to correspond with this restoration. In the marriage service a small part of the introductory discourse was put back, but otherwise the service was left as in the *Proposed Book*. The provision for private confession, in the Visitation of the Sick, retained in the *Proposed Book*, was left out; the psalm was still further shortened, and some special prayers were added at the end. The service for the Churching

of Women was restored. The services for the visitation of prisoners and for Thanksgiving Day, introduced in the Proposed Book, were retained, but the service for Independence Day was not. A service for family prayer was added.

When the convention adjourned, after completing this revision, it left the Church united in one body throughout the country, with a constitution and liturgy finally approved and established. The ecclesiastical system thus set up represented a compromise between the views of the convention of 1785 and those of the Connecticut party, but with the former clearly predominating—so much so, indeed, that the Connecticut leaders expressed some dissatisfaction with the outcome.⁶⁷

It should, perhaps, be added, that the consecration of Dr. Bass did not take place as planned. James Madison, elected Bishop of Virginia to replace Dr. Griffith, went to England for consecration. After his return, the four bishops united in the elevation of Thomas John Claggett, Bishop-elect of Maryland, to the episcopate. This was the only consecration in which Seabury participated.⁶⁸

⁶⁷*Seabury to White, Mar. 29, 1790, White Mss., Vol. III.*

⁶⁸*Seabury to White, Sept. 1, 1790, White Mss., Vol. III.; General Convention, Journals, 1784-1814, pp. 127-28.*

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
SINCE 1789

By Percy Varney Norwood

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1789*

*By Percy V. Norwood***

PARALLELS have been frequently observed between the structure of our national government and the polity of our American Church. Both are the outcome of a federative process—in one case, the union of sovereign states antecedently existing; in the other, the union of Churches already organized within the several states. The history of both shows a delicate balance, sometimes even a tension, between central and local authority; and only slowly have the centripetal tendencies gained ascendancy over the centrifugal, as a sense of national unity has developed to meet the tasks and problems of an expanding country and an expanding Church. Like the citizen, the American Churchman lives under a duality of law and administration, and like him becomes ever more conscious of the pressure of centralized authority. We bow to it because we see its inevitability if the work of tomorrow is to be done.

Both were the product of the "horse and buggy" age of nascent Americanism, with its determination to build a new democracy in this new world with scant regard for the traditional patterns and precedents of the old; with its firm faith in the principle of representative government—that what touches all should be approved by all; with its distrust of over-centralization or over-concentration of power in the hands of any one man or one set of men. Each adopted, as if moved by a common spirit, a written Constitution of paramount law. Each was adapted, initially, to a relatively simple society living along the Atlantic seaboard, and only through pain and travail became accommodated to the needs of a vast continent. Not for a half-century did

**For any extended study of the legislative history of the American Church the Journals of the General Convention are of course indispensable. For the Conventions from 1785 to 1835, these are most accessible in Bishop William Stevens Perry's Reprints, 3 vols., published by order of the Convention (1874).*

Equally indispensable is Dr. E. A. White's monumental annotated edition of the Constitution and Canons (1924).

Of older books the most important are: Bishop White's Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1836). (I have used the De Costa edition of 1880.) F. L. Hawks, The Constitution and Canons (1841). Murray Hoffman, Law of the Church (1850).

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the Church give serious consideration to the great hinterland already opening up beyond the Alleghanies; and to this day we are reaping the bitter fruit of our early negligence. The federal government, be it noted, was never thus neglectful of its territories.

Upon closer scrutiny, the "parallels" are seen to be rough rather than exact or even approximate. The Constitution of the United States is *ex professo* a compact entered into by the several states, amendable only by action of the states. Powers not delegated to the federal government, or prohibited to the states, "are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."¹ The Congress legislates only within the sphere prescribed, explicitly or implicitly, by the Constitution, and there still exists an agency to pass upon the constitutionality of legislative acts. With the Church it is otherwise. The power of amendment rests with the General Convention itself, under certain conditions. To be sure, the ecclesiastical Constitution of 1789 was obviously adopted through some degree of compromise; and a compact was no doubt implied. The steady refusal to sanction proportionate representation in the House of Deputies seems to indicate the sense that a moral compact is to be recognized in this matter.²

Further, General Convention has repeatedly legislated by canon on points not covered by, nor implied in, the Constitution; and at a subsequent date some of this legislation has been incorporated in the Constitution. The Church has no Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of its canons, and it has been generally held by canonists that the Convention has ample authority to legislate on all matters pertaining to the Church's well-being, provided always the canons are consonant with the Constitution (i. e., not in conflict therewith).

Again, the federal Constitution has acquired, as it were, a sacrosanct character, its text preserved unchanged since 1787. The amendments adopted since the Bill of Rights (1791) can almost be checked off on the fingers of two hands. Its expansion has come in the main through liberal interpretation of the "implied powers" it confers upon the central government. The Church, on the contrary, has freely and frequently altered her written Constitution, redrafted it in the closing years of the last century, and has made significant changes since that time. Indeed, for many years prior to 1901 it was customary to append to the Constitution a set of notes on the "history of alterations," to facilitate the study of its development.

It should be understood, then, that our ecclesiastical Constitution

¹Article X of the Bill of Rights.

²Journals, 1877, p. 97; 1883, pp. 210, 270; 1916, pp. 228, 319. E. A. White, p. 23ff.

is far less like our federal Constitution than it is like the Constitution of the French Republic or the fundamental laws of certain European countries: the skeletal structure of its government and polity, to be implemented by canon, and differing from the canons primarily in respect to its mode of enactment and alterations. In the words of the late Dr. E. A. White, the distinguished expositor of our Church law: "The truth is that the Constitution of the General Convention is not the Constitution of the Church, nor is it a Constitution in the true sense of the word, but only a higher set of canons made more stable. . . . The General Convention legislates in ecclesiastical matters without let or hindrance, except so far as restrained by the limitations of the Constitution."³

Nothing is more characteristic of our American Church system of administration than the Standing Committees. These grew up largely outside the framework of general Church law; their powers were repeatedly enlarged by canon; yet until the revision of 1901 one looks in vain for more than incidental reference to them in the Constitution. Doubtless they came into being in the several 'states' to meet various practical needs. They are presumably (Connecticut an exception) an expression of our characteristic American distrust of over-concentration of authority. As their practical value became more evident, legislation more and more took cognizance of them and widened their competence, until today the bishops are bound to seek their consent in many important matters. Eventually they were given constitutional status. Similarly, the Presiding Bishop did not appear, except incidentally, in the Constitution before 1901. Even now, the National Council, which has been called the most revolutionary forward-step in our polity since 1789, is quite unknown to the Constitution and might be abolished over night by a single Convention. It should be clear, then, that the history of the Constitution cannot be treated apart from the ordinary canonical legislation of the Church in General Convention.

The history of legislation in the American Church since 1789 falls naturally into three periods, marked off respectively by the great "missionary Convention" of 1835, and the thorough revision initiated in 1892 and completed in 1901-04.

I. 1789-1835

It will be remembered that the ecclesiastical Constitution as finally adopted in 1789 contained a provision (in Article III) that the House of Deputies might, by a four-fifths vote, over-ride the Bishops' nega-

³*Annotated edition of the Constitution and Canons, p. 118.*

tive. Bp. White⁴ informs us that this was retained to satisfy Virginian suspicion of prelacy, much to the dislike of the New England High Churchmen, and that for the sake of union the "eastern gentlemen acquiesced, but reluctantly, in the compromise." Certainly this unwarranted affront to the rights of the episcopate was far from reflecting the mind of the Church at large; and in 1792 the Deputies, after considerable debate, took the initiative in proposing repeal of the objectionable clause.⁵ In the next Convention (1795), however, the Bishops, strange as it may seem, expressed themselves as satisfied with the legislative powers of their House as fixed by the third article of the Constitution.⁶ Since the Bishops seemed content, nothing further was done until 1804, when the Deputies again proposed an amendment giving a full negative to the other House. This time the Bishops concurred.⁷ The Convention of 1808 ratified the amendment by a vote which in the Deputies would have been unanimous, but for a curious circumstance connected with the Pennsylvania lay delegates.⁸

However, the House of Bishops did not at this time acquire fully co-ordinate legislative power, because of the "three days rule", which remained in force until the revision of 1901.

"In all cases the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation (the latter in writing) within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and in failure thereof it shall have the operation of a law." (Const., Art. III, 1789-1901.)

Several times the Deputies refused to consider the abrogation of this rule, giving as their reason that since the House of Bishops chose to meet behind closed doors they (the Deputies) could in no other way know what consideration—if any—had been given to measures passed by them.⁹

The other salutary amendment made during this first period was that of adding a new paragraph to the Article on the Prayer Book (VIII) to safeguard the liturgy against the assaults of passing whim and fancy by requiring alterations to be approved by two successive General Conventions. Here again it was the House of Deputies that took the initiative in the Convention of 1808.¹⁰ The amendment was

⁴*Memoirs, De Costa edition, p. 169.*

⁵*Perry, Reprints, Vol. I, pp. 153, 166.*

⁶*Ibid., p. 202. In this connection Bp. White has an interesting observation, Memoirs, p. 233.*

⁷*Ibid., pp. 302, 312.*

⁸*Ibid., pp. 341, 353.*

⁹*Gen. Conv. Journals: 1877, pp. 114 f.; 1886, p. 274.*

¹⁰*Perry, Reprints, Vol I, p. 346.*

ratified in 1811.¹¹ In 1829 this requirement was extended to cover the Articles of Religion. As applied to the Prayer Book, the amendment, literally construed, proved too rigorous. Accordingly, in 1877 the lectionary tables were exempt from its provision; and in 1922 the "Tables and Rubrics relating to the Psalms." In 1904 another proviso recognized the right of bishops to take order for special forms of worship supplementing the Prayer Book.

The above includes all the constitutional changes made prior to 1835, save for occasional tinkering with the time and place of meeting of the Convention. One gets the impression of a Church cautiously feeling its way, rather than of one awake to tasks and responsibilities that were already fast becoming tremendous with the westward expansion of the country. One of the material amendments was an act of belated justice to the episcopate, the other a matter of ordinary prudence.

II. 1835-1892

A person more familiar with traditional ecclesiastical terminology than with the history of the American Church would probably be surprised, were he to look at our legislation as it stood in the early years of the nineteenth century, to find the words *State* and *Church in each State*, where one would expect *Diocese*. While the canons were beginning to employ the usual canonical terms, the Constitution, until 1835-1838, used the former words consistently; the latter (*Diocese*) only in one place, to connote the area of a bishop's jurisdiction. Nothing could indicate more clearly the mind and outlook of our founding fathers, or the limitations under which the national Church operated for the first half-century. The Episcopal Church in America began its organized national existence as a union of Churches in the several States, each with its own organization and legislative body already effected.

A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States not now represented, may . . . be admitted, on acceding to this Constitution. (Article V, Constitution of 1789.)

That a "diocese" should be other than co-extensive with a State was quite below the horizon of the framers of the Constitution. To be sure, Churchmen in a new state might organize, form a Convention, and apply for admission into union with the national Church—if, that is, somebody had the force to take the initiative, as happened in Ohio as early as 1818, and in Illinois, Tennessee, and Kentucky somewhat

¹¹Perry, *Reprints*, Vol. I, pp. 377, 389.

later. But as for pressing out into the great Northwest and Southwest, little could be done beyond sending an occasional missionary where prospects seemed reasonably bright.

Resolutions of the House of Bishops in 1817, shortly prior to the establishment of the Missionary Society (1821), illuminate the situation as it then was.¹²

"A lively interest in the spiritual concerns of their brethren in the western country . . . solicitous to extend among them the ministrations of our Church"

"That it be recommended to the Episcopal congregations in the States . . . where Conventions are not already organized, to organize Conventions, which may be received into union with this Convention."

"Resolved: That though the measure of a Convention comprising sundry States in the western country may be a measure of temporary expediency, it can not be authorized by the Convention, consistently with the general Constitution of the Church, which recognizes only a Convention of the Church in each State."

The Church's missionary work and normal westward extension were thus seriously hampered by the "federal principle," which, however natural in 1789, was quite out-moded by the third decade of the nineteenth century. Nor was this all. Under Bishop Hobart's vigorous administration the Church in the "Empire State" had grown to a point beyond the power of a single bishop to administer, beyond the point where, in the days of slow means of communication, a single Convention could adequately represent it.

The General Convention of 1835 is more significant, on the whole, than any other in the Church's history—a fitting climax to the venerable White's long and honorable career as Presiding Bishop. It marks the beginning of a new and vigorous missionary policy, by which the hampering federal principle was at long last discarded. It is not implied that the Convention at any time doubted its possession of sufficient authority to act beyond the bounds of the organized states, or to extend the episcopate to the frontier. Nevertheless, it is true that vision and sense of missionary responsibility were slow in awakening, and that up to this time no provision had been made, either financial or legislative, for aggressive advance. The reorganization of the Missionary Society, to make it coextensive with the Church's baptized mem-

¹²*Perry, Reprints, Vol. I, p. 448.*

bership, took care of the former lack, while two far-reaching legislative measures of the 1835 Convention gave the Church for the first time adequate machinery for her continental task.

(1) Constitutional changes to provide for the division of a state-diocese.

Very properly, it was Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York, burdened with the charge of an impossibly large jurisdiction for which some relief must be found, who introduced into the House of Bishops a resolution¹³ calling for the appointment of a joint committee to consider what alterations could be made in the Constitution and canons "in order to authorize the division of any existing Diocese, or the erection of new Dioceses, less in extent than a State or Territory, and also to enable a Diocese . . . to have an Assistant Bishop" by reason of its territorial extent.

The committee's report¹⁴ rejected the proposal for Assistant Bishops as "not expedient"; but recommended that the fifth Article of the Constitution should be expanded to read:

A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, *or any territory thereof*, not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to this Constitution; *and new dioceses to be formed from one or more existing dioceses may be admitted under the following restrictions . . .*

Such a change would necessarily involve alterations in the terminology of the Constitution to bring it into harmony with the new provision. It was therefore also proposed by the committee that the word *State* (or *States*) should be replaced by the word *Diocese* (or *Dioceses*).

During consideration of this recommendation in the House of Bishops a paragraph was added with a specific reference to New York. This the Deputies very properly rejected,¹⁵ since it is sound canonical theory that Church law should be, as far as possible, couched in terms of general application. With this action the Bishops concurred, and the amendment was proposed for ratification in 1838, in which year it was formally enacted, and the division of New York followed forthwith.¹⁶

(2) A new canon on Missionary Bishops.

On the third day of the Convention, Dr. Cook, a lay deputy from Kentucky, introduced a resolution:¹⁷

¹³Perry, *Reprints*, Vol. II., p. 650.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 657.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 622.

¹⁶See Perry, Vol. II., pp. 698 ff. for the alterations in detail. The Article was slightly changed in 1856.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 569.

That the Committee on Canons be instructed to inquire into the expediency of preparing a Canon to authorize the consecration of a Bishop for each of the States and Territories . . . which are now destitute.

On the same day Mr. Edward A. Newton, of Massachusetts, introduced a similar resolution relating to the consecration of "a Bishop or Bishops, to serve as Missionary Bishops in foreign countries."¹⁸

These resolutions were subsequently transferred to the consideration of a special committee.¹⁹ The very interesting report of this committee, reviewing the past missionary policy of the Church and proposing a canon for both Domestic and Foreign Missionary Bishops, is printed in full in the *Journal*.²⁰ In the course of debate the canon drafted by the committee was verbally but not essentially altered, and in that form adopted.²¹ The Bishops made further amendments;²² a committee on conference was appointed, which adjusted differences between the two Houses; and on September first the new canon (Missionary Bishops) was adopted.

Then, promptly, after an interval of silent prayer, the Bishops proceeded to the nomination of Dr. Francis L. Hawks for the State of Louisiana and the Territories of Florida and Arkansas; and Dr. Jackson Kemper for Missouri and Indiana.²³

Owing to the lateness of the session the Bishops felt it inexpedient, though convinced of the importance of the matter, to "enter upon a measure involving consequences so momentous" as the nomination of a Bishop for China.²⁴

Truly, the first day of September, 1835, is one to be held in honor by all who are concerned for the good name of our Church in the field of missionary enterprise. A long-standing reproach had at last been removed. It may be noted in passing that until 1901 the *Constitution* contained no reference whatever to Missionary Bishops.

The sixth Article of the Constitution of 1789 provided that

In every State the mode of trying Clergymen shall be instituted by the Convention of the Church therein. At every trial of a Bishop there shall be one or more of the Episcopal Order present: and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence. . . .

¹⁸*Perry, Reprints, Vol. II., p. 569.*

¹⁹*Ibid., p. 570.*

²⁰*Ibid., pp. 625-626.*

²¹*Ibid., pp. 631-635.*

²²*Ibid., p. 671.*

²³*Ibid., pp. 675f.*

²⁴*Ibid., p. 676.*

This subjected a Bishop to trial before his own diocese, even though he is clearly an officer of the whole Church, as other canonical provisions recognize. But even so, it was an improvement upon the corresponding Article in the Constitution of 1785, to which the New England High Churchmen had so strenuously and properly objected, in that it did provide for the participation of one or more bishops in every episcopal trial. Further, it seemed to violate both the principles of canon law and the old English legal maxim that every man has a right to be tried by his peers. Those who magnified the Bishop's office reasonably resented it as unjust and an unwarranted indignity to the episcopate. In 1838, therefore, Bishop Doane of New Jersey introduced an amendment to transfer procedure against Bishops to the jurisdiction of the General Convention, by adding at the beginning of Article VI

The mode of trying a Bishop shall be provided by General Convention. The court appointed for that purpose shall be composed of Bishops only.²⁵

When this amendment, certainly by all Catholic standards one in the right direction, was ratified in 1841 it was implemented by a canon (drafted by that competent canonist, Bishop Hopkins of Vermont), in which, however, considerable changes were made a few years later. Through a peculiar train of circumstances, this determination "to make the trial of a bishop hard" was followed within a few years by more episcopal trials than we have had before or since. They were the more distressing because of the evident ability and leadership of those accused in the heat of party controversy, and, ironically, no one of the bishops tried would probably have been convicted by his own diocesan convention.

Although the canon of 1835 on Missionary Bishops provided for the extension of the episcopate "out of the territory of the United States," when three years later the House of Bishops nominated to Liberia, the Deputies refused to concur, on the ground that it was not expedient to elect such a bishop until his rights and authority had been better defined. In 1841, the request of the Church in the Republic of Texas for a bishop or bishops to oversee that large area, met the same fate and for the same reasons.²⁶ However, in 1841, a new Article (X) of the Constitution²⁷ was introduced by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, seconded by Bishop Otey of Tennessee, to empower the

²⁵*Journal*, 1838, pp. 115f, 167.

²⁶*White*, p. 43; *G. C. Journal*, 1841; Pp. 74-77; 113-114; 125-126; 135; 152-155.

²⁷*Journal*, p. 132.

consecration of "Bishops for foreign countries, on application of a Church therein" This was enacted in 1844. It obviously has no reference to Missionary Bishops as such, but to the consecration of Bishops for foreign Churches of Catholic Order (as in the then Republic of Texas) applying to us to supply them with the episcopate under a concordat. It has been resorted to for the consecration of Bp. Holly, for Haiti (1874); Bp. Riley, for Mexico (1879); and Bp. L. L. Kinsolving, for Brazil (1899). The first Foreign Missionary Bishops were consecrated for China and Turkey in 1844, under the canon of 1835.

The only other material amendment prior to the revision of 1892-1901 was an alteration in Article II, defining more exactly the composition of the House of Deputies by requiring Lay Deputies to be "Communicants in this Church and resident in the Diocese" represented. This was enacted in 1853-56. During the revision of 1901 this matter was further defined by prescribing, for the first time, that Clerical Deputies must be *Presbyters*. By this action deacons were expressly excluded from seats in the Convention.²⁸

The secession of the southern states subjected the Constitution to a peculiar strain. The southern dioceses, upon their premises, acted quite logically in holding that since their states had withdrawn from the federal Union to form a sister nation—that since for them the United States no longer existed unbroken—they were amply justified in withdrawing from the Church in the United States to form the Church of the Confederacy. Equally logical was the Northern Church in insisting that since the federal Union is indestructible, and the right of secession not to be admitted, the southern dioceses were still *de jure* parts of the national Church, though for the time *de facto* separated from it by the fortunes of war. It is well known that at the Convention of 1862 the southern dioceses were included in the roll-call. Before the next Convention met the issue had been settled by the harsh arbitrament of war; and with rare understanding and forbearance on both sides—to the lasting glory of the Episcopal Church—the southern brethren came and were welcomed back with none of the scandals of reconstruction.

One delicate constitutional problem arising out of the secession of the Southern Church was tactfully solved. During the course of the war the Rt. Rev. Richard H. Wilmer had been elected and consecrated Bishop of Alabama, without the "consents" required under the Constitution, or the canonical promise of conformity. Obviously, from the southern point of view these consents need not have been

²⁸*White, Const. and Canons, p. 13.*

asked or the pledge given; while from the northern viewpoint Alabama was still bound to the Constitution. What, then, was Bishop Wilmer's canonical status? The Convention of 1865, satisfied of the validity of his consecration, and expressly declaring that this unusual course should not establish a precedent, waived "examination of the circumstances occasioning certain canonical irregularities," and gave belated consent to his exercise of the episcopate on condition of his subscribing to the Promise of Conformity. The Deputies, one notes, were disposed to be somewhat more exacting than the House of Bishops.²⁹

III. 1892-1937

An expanding institution tends to become increasingly complex as it accumulates agencies and machinery differing in age, pattern, and efficiency. Growing legal systems, in particular, require periodic recodification to bring them into self-consistency. For a century the American Church had been extending its *corpus juris* by enactments, constitutional and canonical, of varying date and character. Moreover, the growing Church had created a number of agencies—boards and standing commissions—and these not coordinated or controlled except through a Convention meeting triennially. The machinery was lagging behind the heavier demands more and more put upon it, not adequate to the needs of new times or the quickening tempo of American life.

After the Civil War the Church was for a while distracted by party tension in the ceremonial controversy, then immersed in the centennial revision of the Prayer Book. No sooner was this absorbing task completed than the Convention embarked upon the no less arduous undertaking of carrying through a comprehensive revision of her legislation, some of it a century old. Begun in 1892, and completed in 1901-04 (most of it in the former year), it made more momentous and extensive changes in the Constitution than had been made in the more than one hundred years preceding, and introduced into our fundamental law a number of items hitherto provided only by canon. The years following have seen the incorporation into the Constitution of a provision for Suffragan Bishop (1910), hitherto prohibited, and one for an elective Presiding Bishop (1919); together with the creation, by canon only, of the National Council to co-ordinate various agencies through a permanent administrative body under the Presiding Bishop as executive head of the Church's work.

²⁹*Journal*, 1865, pp. 57, 156, 168.

(a) THE REVISION OF 1892-1904

It was the indefatigable Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York, who brought the project before the Convention through a resolution to create a Joint Commission for the revision of the Constitution and Canons, "for the purpose (1) of rendering them more entirely harmonious and freeing them from ambiguities; (2) of adapting them to the great enlargement and growth of the Church; and (3) of clothing them with such accuracy and precision of language as shall relieve the Digest from the technical objections which are made by accomplished jurists and canonists to the phraseology of the existing Digest."³⁰ On reference, the committee on canons recommended a Commission of seven in each order.³¹

When created, the Commission, chosen with evident care, included the Bishops of Connecticut (the Presiding Bishop), Western New York, Albany, Kentucky, Quincy, New York, Maryland;³² and among the clerical Deputies, Dean Hoffman of the General Seminary, Dr. William J. Seabury, Dr. Stone of Pennsylvania, Dr. Kinloch Nelson of Virginia, with Dr. Hall Harrison as its Secretary.³³ Its membership changed considerably before the completion of its task. Bishop Coxe was removed by death during the course of revision. To it were referred various canonical measures pending before the Convention, among them a projected canon on Suffragan Bishops, hitherto forbidden.

For the Convention of 1895 the Commission printed a report, the result of twenty-eight days of work, containing a complete redraft of the Constitution and canons, preceded by a *Declaration* which identified the Church as "an integral portion of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" and stated its doctrinal position in terms which clearly echo the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of a few years previous.³⁴

It would be tedious and unprofitable to trace the course of deliberations on the proposed new Constitution, save to note that the *Declaration* was rejected; an attempt to change the title of Presiding Bishop to *Primate* (or *Primus*) was voted "inexpedient"; the proposal of the Commission, warmly championed by Bishop Coxe, to substitute *General Synod* for *General Convention* failed to carry in the Deputies after the adoption by the Bishops; and that the term *Assistant Bishop* was changed to *Bishop Coadjutor*.³⁵

³⁰*Journal*, 1892, p. 47.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 50.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 133.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁴See *Journal*, 1895, App. XVI.

³⁵*Journal*, 1895, *passim*.

By 1895 the new Article I (replacing the first three of the old Constitution) was completed and approved for ratification,³⁶ under the title: "Constitutions and canons for the Government of that Portion of the Catholic Church known in Law as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." When final action was taken in 1898 this title, like the *Declaration*, was sacrificed to conservatism.

The other ten Articles were perfected and proposed for adoption in 1898.³⁷ When they came up for ratification in the next Convention, Article V (New Dioceses) and a rider to Article X (approving the temporary use of other forms of worship "by congregations not in union with this Church who are willing to accept the spiritual oversight of a Bishop of the Church") failed of adoption in that form. However, a new draft of Article V was substituted; and this was ratified in 1904.³⁸ An innocuous substitute for the second proviso in Article X was also passed and duly ratified.

So much for the history of the revision. What about the new Constitution itself? A comparison with the old shows that Articles IV (Standing Committee), VI (Missionary Districts), and VII (Provinces) are altogether new, while most of the other Articles with the exception of VIII (Requirements for Ordination, which remained virtually unchanged) were materially expanded or altered.

Standing Committees had been recognized in the sixth canon of 1789 (when there were bishops in three states only) for the sole purpose of recommending to the Bishop candidates for holy orders. Such committees had already been set up in some of the states to meet various needs, especially where the episcopate had not yet been secured, to act between conventions in the state, or to consult with the Bishop. In a sense they were felt to be more essential—at least temporarily—to the state organizations than the episcopate itself, since the latter could be "borrowed" as needed. Says Judge Hoffman, "These bodies arose from the necessities of the Church and were the organs of government, where as yet there was no Bishop, during the recess of the Convention."³⁹ In Maryland and Connecticut they were clerical bodies, and this is still true of the latter diocese. The canon of 1789 required their appointment where they were not already provided. The 24th canon of 1808 made them for the first time a council of advice to the Bishop, while the revised canons of 1832 constituted them the ecclesiastical authority in the absence of a bishop. This had been a

³⁶*Journal, App. XXI.*

³⁷*Journal, App. XIV.*

³⁸*Journal, 1901, App. XVI.*

³⁹*Law of the Church, p. 212.*

most natural evolution. The first constitutional enactment on Standing Committees came in 1901, when the substance of the former canon was incorporated in the Constitution as Article IV and presently implemented by a canon (now 53) prescribing their duties.⁴⁰ An obviously fitting amendment of 1919 provided that a Bishop Coadjutor or a Suffragan might be made the ecclesiastical authority in the absence or incapacity of the Diocesan.

Missionary Districts had in fact been created from time to time—although that precise term was not used prior to 1901—under the canon of 1835. But until the revision of the Constitution “there was not a single word in the Constitution regarding Missions or Missionary Bishops, nor the slightest hint of any power granted to the General Convention to enact canons on that subject. And yet for nearly seventy years . . . Missionary Bishops had been elected under the provisions of canons.”⁴¹ The Convention had always acted upon the assumption that it possessed ample competence to meet all the needs of the Church’s task without specific sanction from the Constitution. It was perhaps the considerable expansion of our national domain in consequence of the war with Spain that induced the revisers to make constitutional provision for the missionary episcopate—and certainly the addition came at an opportune moment when the Church was on the verge of a decided extension in the Pacific and the Caribbean—but quite apart from this the subject is one of such capital importance as to deserve the constitutional status given it under Article VI.⁴²

Provinces. With the rapid westward expansion of the country, and the multiplication of dioceses resulting therefrom, problems arose out of the mounting membership of the General Convention. Relief for such an unwieldy body might perhaps be had through some form of provincial organization; which, by the way, Bishop White had in a sense envisaged in his *Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered*, just at the close of the Revolution. As early as 1850, Bishop De Lancey of Western New York introduced a resolution calling for the appointment of a joint committee to consider “the expediency of arranging the Dioceses, according to geographical position, into four provinces . . . to be united under a General Convention or Council of Provinces, having exclusive control over the Prayer Book, Offices, Articles, and Homilies,” and meeting every twenty years (!).⁴³ The Bishops adopted this resolution, then receded. The Deputies deferred action.

In 1865 the matter was again brought before the Convention, on

⁴⁰*White, Const. and Canons*, pp. 46ff., 852 ff.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁴²*Cf. White*, pp. 73 ff.

⁴³*Journal*, 1850, p. 146.

memorials from New York and Pennsylvania—the former urging the creation of Provinces, the latter advocating legislation to encourage the formation of Federate Councils in states having two or more dioceses. The Committee to which these resolutions were referred reported adversely on the provincial system, but favorably with regard to Federate Councils as tending to preserve something of the original unity within the state. A canon to provide for the setting up of such councils was passed by the Deputies, but the Bishops failed to act.⁴⁴ When the “Upper” House considered it in 1868, it was at first lost by a tie vote, then approved on reconsideration and roll call. At least one state acted under the terms of this canon, for after the division of Illinois in 1877 a “Province of Illinois” was formed. From 1868 on, the subject of Provinces was apparently brought to the attention of nearly every Convention in one form or another, its advocates undismayed by the evident hostility of the more conservative group.⁴⁵ In 1874 a committee of the Deputies rendered a severely condemnatory report, in which the opinion was expressed that “such a system would dismember the Church, and out of this new compact and united body create five or seven or ten separate Churches.” They predicted that the provincial plan would lead to “fearful consequences in the future, reaching far down the coming ages.” The implication is that provinces are a foreign importation, alien to American ideas and traditions, and having no legitimate place in the social structure of the new world.⁴⁶

By 1892 a different view was being taken. A special joint committee that had been studying the matter over a triennium reported that they had been “impressed more and more with its (i. e., provincial system) intrinsic importance to the prosperity of the Church . . . and by an evident conviction in the public mind that some decisive action . . . ought to be taken . . . without delay.” Appeal was made to the historical and hierarchical evolution of the Catholic Church as well as to considerations of practical efficiency.⁴⁷

The subject of Provinces was thereupon referred to the Constitutional Commission. It is interesting to note that the House of Bishops sponsored an amendment to the Constitution to create five or more Provinces, each under an Archbishop.⁴⁸ This proving too radical, the matter was eventually enacted in vague and general terms (Article VII of 1901), with a proviso that no Diocese shall be included in a Province without its own consent. The implementing canon (now 52) was not

⁴⁴*Journal*, pp. 28, 72.

⁴⁵*Cf. the lengthy report in Journal*, 1868, *App. V.*

⁴⁶*Journal*, p. 150.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁴⁸*Journal*, 1895, pp. 44, 237.

passed until 1913, earlier attempts having failed to secure concurrence, chiefly through the conservatism or trepidation of the laity.

The Church has not in fact been disrupted, nor the powers of General Convention diminished. Those who fear the provincial system are free to maintain that this is so only because, up to now, the Provinces have been given such limited authority. On the other hand, it may be cogently argued that the further development of this system, now arrested, is one of the major problems confronting the Church in a country so vast and so diversified as ours.

In the old Constitution the regulations concerning the General Convention had been distributed among the first three Articles. The revision threw these together in a new first Article, with its seven sections, and made their content more precise. The substantial changes effected were: (1) Abrogation of the "three days rule" to give the House of Bishop fully co-ordinate power in legislation. (2) Reference to Bishops Coadjutor and Missionary Bishops in section two (§2), on the constituency of the House of Bishops. (3) In section four (§4) the clerical deputies are defined as Presbyters. (4) In the same section permission is given to the Convention to reduce the size of delegations to two in each order if deemed expedient. This was obviously done to dispel alarm at the growth of membership in the House of Deputies. (5) Section six (§6) gives representation, hitherto unprovided for, to Missionary Districts "within the boundaries of the United States," subject to a single important limitation (now in process of removal) with respect to vote by orders. By interpretation this provision is defined to apply to "all the territory and possessions within the jurisdiction of the United States." In 1907 membership in the House of Deputies was extended to delegates of the American Churches in Europe; and in 1913 to representatives of Foreign Missionary Districts. Thus we have had a little "ecumenical movement" of our own.

The second Article (Bishops) was largely expanded and made more exact. A proviso added to section one (§1) in 1904 allows a Missionary Bishop to become Bishop of a Diocese erected therefrom, should he so elect. Section two (§2) of this Article, on canonical age of Bishops and on consents to elections, etc., had previously been regulated by canon only. The same holds true of the last section, on resignation. This was enacted to read, "A Bishop may not resign his jurisdiction without the consent of the House of Bishops." In 1922 was added: "or without the consent of the Bishops of the Province . . . in either case under conditions provided by the Canons of the General Convention." Three years later the added words were struck out during the raid on the provincial system, presumably on the ground

that no provision had in fact been canonically made for resignation to comprovincials.

Article III (Bishops for Foreign Lands) corresponds to the old Article ten. The last sentence of the Article as it now appears was added in 1922.

The history of Article V (New Dioceses), corresponding to the old Article of the same number, is rather involved.⁴⁹ During the revision it gave particular trouble, for which reason it was not enacted with the rest of the Constitution in 1901, but held over until the next Convention. It is considerably more detailed than its predecessor. Here, as elsewhere, *Bishop Coadjutor* replaces *Assistant Bishop*. Specific provision is made for the erection of a Diocese out of a Missionary District. The most striking departure from the old Article is in the reduction of the lower limit of size (§6) from fifteen parishes and presbyters to six, thus facilitating the division of large but sparsely settled areas. Where formerly an existing Diocese might not be reduced below thirty parishes and twenty presbyters, the limit is now twelve in each case. It may be questioned whether the limits thus fixed are not too low. However, the new section seven (§7), which provides that no new Diocese is to be erected until sufficient support of the Episcopate has been assured, to some degree guards against the real danger of too many weak jurisdictions.

The Article on Requisites for Ordination (VIII) retained almost the exact wording of its antecedent until 1919, when the words *in this Church* were added at two points to bring it into conformity with the so-called Concordat Canon 11.

Article IX (Courts) for the first time makes provision for the setting up of Courts of Review and an ultimate Court of Appeal for the determination of questions of doctrine, faith, or worship. The former provision has been implemented by Canons 29 and 32. The contemplated Court of Appeal has not yet been erected, as little need for it has so far appeared.

The Articles on Prayer Book and on Amendments are strengthened by requiring alterations to be voted on by orders. Participation in Prayer Book revision was in 1937 extended to deputies from Domestic Missionary Districts. Similar participation in constitutional alterations will presumably be granted in 1940.

The Article on Amendments in the old Constitution was so worded as to seem to some authorities to imply that alterations ought to be

⁴⁹*White, Const. and Canons, pp. 57 ff.*

passed upon by the several diocesan conventions, and ratified by (or *in*) the General Convention only when so approved. About the middle of the last century a sharp difference of opinion on this point appeared between Dr. F. L. Hawks⁵⁰ and Judge Murray Hoffman.⁵¹ The issue centered upon the respective rights of state or diocesan and General Conventions. In the spirit of a state rights man, Dr. Hawks argued valiantly in behalf of the interpretation indicated above. Judge Hoffman countered with equal ability and more legal cogency to maintain the full competency of the General Convention itself in respect to amendments. The Article as revised in 1901 was so rephrased as to free it from ambiguity, and thus to remove it from the field of controversy.⁵²

(b) SINCE 1904

Because of the caution and conservatism which has always been recognized as typical of the Episcopal Church, especially when in Convention assembled, neither the first Prayer Book revision, nor the legislative recodification that followed upon its heels, reached its objective. Some most desirable reforms were postponed; to be realized, in the one case by a second and more thorough liturgical revision, in the other by significant constitutional developments within the past thirty years.

(1) *Suffragans*. In 1829, after the Kemp case in Maryland and the Meade case in Virginia, a canon was enacted to prohibit the election of Suffragan Bishops or of more than one Assistant Bishop in a Diocese; and giving that one Assistant assured right of succession. Agitation to remove this prohibition began in the Convention of 1871, when a proposed canon on Suffragans was buried in committee.⁵³ From that time on it continued more or less vigorously, and was among the matters considered by the Constitutional Commission while revising the code. Not until 1910, however, was the new section four (§4) of Article II added to the Constitution to permit the election of one or more Suffragans without vote in the House of Bishops or right of succession. The amendment appears to have been made largely in the interest of the Church's work among colored people in the South. A canon (15) of the same Convention implemented the new section. The dignity of the office was enhanced by another amendment, in 1919, to

⁵⁰*Constitution and Canons*, pp. 41 ff.

⁵¹*Law of the Church*, pp. 172 ff.

⁵²The matter is well discussed by E. A. White, annotated edition of *Const. and Canons*, pp. 106 ff. The controversy is of historical interest as revealing something of the spirit of the time in which it was waged.

⁵³*Journal*, p. 119.

allow a vacant Diocese to make its Suffragan its temporary ecclesiastical authority.⁵⁴

The question is still hotly debated in some quarters whether or not Suffragans should have votes as well as seats in the House of Bishops. The present restriction has been obviously embarrassing in the few cases where a Missionary Bishop has become a Suffragan.

(2) A "*Presiding Bishop*" is a natural necessity to take the chair in the House of Bishops, and for such matters as consecrations, etc. In early days his duties were quite light outside of Convention time. The old Constitution made mention of the office in the first and tenth Articles, without anywhere prescribing its qualifications. Indeed, until 1901, the person of the Presiding Bishop was determined not even by canon, but only by a rule of order of the House of Bishops which, except for a short period, designated the Senior Bishop as presiding. This strange omission was remedied in the revision of 1901 by the insertion of a new section three (§3) in the first Article, recognizing the Senior Bishop in order of consecration, having jurisdiction within the United States, as the Presiding Bishop. It was at the time suggested that he be designated as *Primus* or *Primate*, but this proposal was defeated.

Back in 1887, the vigorous and forthright John Williams, of Connecticut, then Presiding Bishop by seniority, in addressing a special meeting of the House of Bishops, asked that consideration be given to a change in their rules of order. He pointed out that the existing arrangement, whereby a bishop always bound to be advanced in years, and not unlikely to be infirm in health, presided over the increasingly complicated affairs of the Church, was "not only unwise but almost cruel."⁵⁵ If cruel to the aged holder of the office, it was no less unfair to the Church itself. The House appointed the five senior bishops to consider the communication; and in 1889 the Convention took measures to relieve the Presiding Bishop of some of the burdens of his office. But this failed adequately to meet the situation, and in 1892 Bishop Williams again spoke his mind,⁵⁶ expressing the hope that "some action may be taken by this House to end such an anomalous state of things." The result was as before, and no more satisfactory.

During the revision the question was raised by the Presiding Bishop in 1901, Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island, who expressed himself much as his predecessor had done and urged the House of

⁵⁴Cf. *Journal*, 1916, pp. 56 ff. *The history of Suffragans is well treated in White, annotated edition of Const. and Canons*, pp. 33 ff., 185ff.

⁵⁵*Journal*, 1889, p. 538.

⁵⁶*Journal*, p. 12.

Bishops to consider making the office elective.⁵⁷ The Convention of that year did approve an amendment to Article I of the Constitution to provide for an elected Presiding Bishop, but in 1904 the House of Bishops reversed their stand and refused ratification.⁵⁸ The matter continued on an uneven course, with disagreements appearing between the two Houses, until 1916, when the amendment (Art. I, sec. 3) was approved, and finally ratified three years later, with an implementing canon (now 17), subsequently somewhat altered.⁵⁹

This decided forward step, all too long delayed, made it possible for the Church to have—at long last—an executive head under whom its various agencies, boards, and commissions, heretofore functioning in practical independence, could be co-ordinated and supervised, and its work pressed aggressively between sessions of the General Convention. The Convention which provided for an elective Presiding Bishop created by canon (now, in amended form, 60) a National Council—this precise term was at first not used—following in the main the very significant report of a Commission on Missionary Reorganization made in 1916.⁶⁰ Toward the drafting of this canon the three great boards—Missions, Religious Education, and Social Service—made useful contribution in the light of their experience. Thus, after more than a century and a quarter of drifting and hesitation, the Church found itself with a coherent and reasonably efficient system of central administration functioning through the Departments of the National Council under the Presiding Bishop as its chief executive. Since its inception we have become decidedly more conscious of the national Church than we were before—as anyone thinking back will realize on a moment's reflection—just as since the World War we have become increasingly aware of the outreach of our national government. For good or ill, we no longer have that practical diocesan or parochial autonomy which was once ours; for the centralization in the general Church was speedily emulated in the dioceses by the formation of Diocesan Councils. On the whole, the results have more than justified a step which at the time some people regarded as both revolutionary and dangerous—the setting up of a *curia* and congregations in our once democratic Church. As compared with our old ways of doing things, it represents—though by no means perfect—a “streamlining” of the Church for tomorrow's tasks.

Some of the most important constitutional matters confronting the Convention in the past decade have related to the status of the

⁵⁷*Journal*, 1901, p. 15.

⁵⁸*Journal*, p. 45.

⁵⁹*Cf. White*, pp. 20f.

⁶⁰*Journal*, 1916, App. XV.

Presiding Bishop. Article I, sec. 3, has been so amended as no longer to restrict the choice to a bishop having jurisdiction within the United States, and to prevent devolution of the office upon the Senior Bishop (as was the provision in 1919) in the event the Presiding Bishop should die or resign during his term of office. Under the present provision it becomes the duty of the Senior Bishop to summon a special meeting of the House of Bishops "immediately" to fill the vacancy until the next Convention. The procedure (Canon 17) in electing has likewise been refined to secure participation by the Deputies.

Again, should the Presiding Bishop be given a fixed see—or a fancy title? Or should the provincial system—now largely impotent—be made really effective, as recommended by the Joint Committee on the subject in 1937?⁶¹ To follow *all* of these arresting recommendations would seem more truly radical and revolutionary than any step hitherto taken and reverse the course of development in recent years, for it would shift the center of gravity from the general Church administration to the Provinces—perhaps to a form of metropolitan organization under several Archbishops. Yet through such a plan each region could work out with intimate knowledge of the facts and close-range observation its peculiar problems; presumably, therefore, with greater intelligence and efficiency. The provincial system can hardly be judged on its past performance, for so far it has had little chance to show its merits. Ere long we shall probably have to face the alternative between continued centralization or some metropolitical scheme, possibly with Archbishops and translations and legislating Synods and a reduction of the functions of General Convention and National Council.

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the legislation of the last hundred years, it becomes clear that during the first half of the period the dominating motivation was missionary: to provide adequately for the Church's expansion at home and abroad. During the last fifty years the dominant consideration has been administrative smoothness: either through a working central executive or through provincial decentralization, and through a more elaborate judicature.

Beginning as a young Church in a young land, we have evolved a form of polity in some respects unique and of truly American pattern. While our organization has become increasingly elaborate in the interest of efficiency in doing the work of the Kingdom of God, we have kept our terminology surprisingly simple. We have not—individuals excepted—been obsessed with the idea of conforming to patterns wrought

⁶¹*Journal, App. XXV. Cf. Journal, 1925, App. XXI.*

out in the old world and in times long past. It remains to be seen whether we shall eventually conform, or whether the traditions of our pioneer days will continue to prevail, while adapted in particulars to the needs of the future. It is not without significance that the most persistent pressure in favor of some form of provincial organization seems to have come, in the main, not from the supposedly Anglophile Atlantic seaboard, but from the mid-continent, where something of the frontier spirit of independence still survives. With the center of Episcopalian population in the neighborhood of Harrisburg while the national population center is only a few hours' drive east and south of Chicago, Churchmen in the West may well regard it as a matter of highest practical expediency to counteract, somehow, our present centralization in the vicinity of Manhattan or Washington. Nomenclature and antiquarianisms play a very small part in the agitation for provinces.

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In Memoriam

WILLIAM ARCHER RUTHERFOORD GOODWIN

Priest

Doctor

Historian

The editor and his associates announce with deep regret the death of the Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, Rector-emeritus of Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg.

Dr. Goodwin had won eminence as an authority on the history of the American Church, especially as it related to Virginia. His two volume *History of the Virginia Theological Seminary* is a monumental work. When this HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was projected in 1932, his counsel and encouragement were invaluable and he served as one of the Associate Editors. He was deeply interested in the restoration of Bruton Church, built in 1715, and which has just been completed, and in the chancel under which he lies buried. His last act was to raise two hundred thousand dollars for its endowment. His works do follow him.

Servant of God, Well Done!

THE S. P. G. PROGRAM FOR NEGROES IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

*By Frank J. Klingberg**

THE program of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to search out and teach the Negro at the very opening of the eighteenth century, seems, unlike most events in perspective, more gigantic an undertaking in its difficulties and its obstacles to twentieth century appraisal than to contemporary opinion. Not only was the Slave Trade bringing in hundreds of slaves at a time, but the problem of their Christianization was added to that of the native people, the Indians, who were equally the charge of the early missionaries. Again, little cognizance could be taken at first of the Negro's lost African culture and therefore a bridge connecting his so different world with British civilization, comparable with the cautious procedure of a modern missionary going to Africa or the homeland of any native people, could not be attempted. For, today, the S.P.G. draws on its two centuries of accumulated experience and knowledge of native peoples, and on the voluminous literature of its colleague, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The specific program of the S.P.G. for Anglican Negro Christianization, and the consequent education inevitably necessary as the slave was prepared for the Sacraments of the Church, introduced an ameliorative agency between master and slave. The greater the missionary's success, the more difficult it became to regard the Negro merely as a piece of property. Sometimes clearly and again dimly, the owner realized that vital transformations were contemplated or subtly involved.

The power and drive of the S.P.G. with its semi-official standing, created a new situation in the British Colonies, both Continental and West Indian, and necessitated an adjustment of the clergy of all denominations, lay officials, masters and slaves to the new agency. It was clear from the beginning that the Society was not a transient

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visitor but a permanent resident in America, supported by British religious and humanitarian interests of great strength.

At once the vital question was brought up, did baptism free the slave? The S.P.G., confronted by the firm economic and social realities of slavery and of the slave trade,¹ interests unshakeable during the first three-quarters of the Society's existence, took the position that Christianization was not emancipation and thereby significantly committed itself and the British government to a program of religious liberty for an enslaved race, rapidly increasing in numbers in the Continental Colonies from an estimated 60,000 in 1715 to half a million in 1775.² The estimates for New York are 4,000 Negroes and 27,000 whites in 1715, and 20,000 Negroes and 150,000 whites in 1771, both races having increased about five times.³

The masters were able to secure endorsement of this position on the legal effects of baptism from the law officers of the Crown, and also from Colonial Legislatures, so that in law the matter was clear beyond the shadow of doubt. In practice, however, the slave owner was constantly confronted, as long as slavery existed, by the fact that baptism, marriage, and other religious rites, convinced the Negro that he was on the road to freedom because these elaborate white man's religious ceremonies, recognizing the soul of a black slave on terms of equality with that of a white free man, carried not merely religious, but civil and economic implications, disturbing to master and slave alike. The complete cycle of a sacramental progression from baptism to burial, with the special training of each successive step between, including the learning of the white man's language, might not be a legal emancipa-

¹The slave trade is reputed to have yielded a return of 24% per annum throughout the eighteenth century and these huge profits explained the underlying resistance in the long history of attempts at abolition during the last 150 years. Estimates of the profits naturally vary widely but all agree that profits were huge. Frank J. Klingberg, *the Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926), p. 13, "During the last sixteen months before the trade was abolished Liverpool alone sent out one hundred and eighty-five ships for the African trade, capable of carrying about 50,000 slaves at a profit of over thirty per cent of the investment." R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, (London, 1933), p. 38, "It paid on the average at least 15 per cent. One slaveship alone might bring in as much as £60,000 by a single successful voyage. It was calculated that, even if two out of every three ventures failed, the profit might still be substantial." The history of the slave trade has been studied as a major research project by Elizabeth Donnan, in *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Washington, 1930-1935, four volumes. Her contribution as well as that of Mrs. Catterall have not yet been incorporated into general historical scholarship.

²Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790*, New York, 1932, Columbia University Press, p. 4. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, IV, p. 351, gives the number of Negro slaves in 1723 as 6,171. The census of 1790 showed 21,324.

³*Ibid.*, Greene and Harrington, p. 102.

tion, but was, nevertheless, a participation in the white man's folk ways amounting to something like tribal adoption.

Sharp-witted defenders of slavery, such as Edward Long,⁴ were never in doubt that the Christianization of the Negro was at least a first step in his eventual emancipation and that the moral weight of the Slogan, "Am I not a Man and a Brother,"⁵ widely used during the last years of the eighteenth century, would in time force judge and legislature to outlaw slavery and the slave trade by declarations that both were illegal and contrary to Christian teaching.

During the course of the eighteenth century, philosophers adopted and promoted theories reflecting this changing mood. John Locke, for example, held that "religious liberty for slaves does not in any way exempt a Negro from that civil dominion his master hath over him."⁶ Somewhat later, Francis Hutcheson appeared as "the first British philosopher fully to apply to slavery the 'romantic' ethics of pity instead of the 'classical' ethics of reason."⁷ Specifically, he stated,

Strange, that in any nation where a sense of liberty prevails, where the Christian religion is professed, custom and high prospects of gain can so stupify the consciences of men, and all sense of natural justice, that they can bear such com-

⁴Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, (3 vols., London, 1774). Long was for some years judge of the vice-admiralty court in Jamaica. He returned to England in 1769 and was one of the ablest exponents of the West Indian point of view. He died in 1813.

R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, pp. 28-29, (London, 1933), includes a quotation from Long in a statement presenting the average master's point of view in plantation colonies in the eighteenth century, "Surrounded by an overwhelming multitude of barbarous Negroes, most owners were convinced that a policy of 'amelioration' which aimed, not merely at protecting them from excessive cruelty, but at educating and civilizing them, was doubly bound to lead to trouble. On the one hand, the slaves would acquire new ideas, a new sense of their rights and of their power to obtain them—a process which would excite their discontent, impair their willingness to work, and culminate in a general and irresistible rebellion; on the other hand, their rise in the scale of civilization would make it increasingly difficult and finally impossible to justify the institution of slavery itself. As it was, in their primitive state, they could be and commonly were regarded as virtually disqualified by nature for the enjoyment of human rights. Edward Long, an official in Jamaica, whose well-known history of the island was published in 1774, desired that slaves should be humanely treated, but he argued at some length that they should be classed with orang-outangs as 'a different species of the same genus'."

⁵R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, (London, 1933), p. 94, "A cameo depicting a Negro in an attitude of entreaty had been designed by Wedgwood, the famous master-potter and an ardent abolitionist, and widely adopted for decorating snuff boxes, bracelets and hair pins."

For an interesting recent use of the seal with its slogan see Maggs Bros., Catalogue No. 677, Cover and title page, London, 1939.

⁶Wylie Sypher, "Hutcheson and the 'Classical Theory' of Slavery," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIV, No. 31, July, 1939, p. 273. Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England*, pp. 34-35, New Haven, 1926.

⁷*Ibid.*, *Journal*, p. 216.

putations made about the value of their fellow-men, and their liberty, without abhorrence and indignation.⁸

In this study it is not intended to discuss the complicated inter-relationship between the growth of religious freedom and civil liberty in the white man's history, but to point out that in the case of the Negro in the British colonial world, a quite appreciable religious liberty preceded the attainment of civil rights.

The work of the S.P.G. in the mission field, throughout this century of profound changes, enables the student to get a continuity of record vouchsafed by few other sources.⁹ The field reports of the missionaries, from their widely separated stations, and the codifying activities of the central control body in London tell the story of the part played by the Society. Besides, the annual Sermons, preached before the Society in London by distinguished men, throw appreciable light on the mood in England, and the financial records give many items of social history.¹⁰

I. IN NEW YORK CITY

The work in New York opened under promising conditions. On April 12, 1705, the Society appointed, as catechist to the Negroes in New York City, the justly famous Elias Neau. French born, imprisoned as a Protestant for several years, he emigrated and settled in New York as a trader, where he determined to help the enslaved Negroes. In 1703, he had asked the Society to appoint a teacher for them. And, in the meantime, he had spent many hours in their instruction. In 1705, he was delighted¹¹ to be licensed as a catechist by

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 279. On p. 280, Sypher states ". . . the modern attitude on slavery originates in Hutcheson's humanitarian attack on Aristotle." Thomas Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London, 1808) I, pp. 49-50.

⁹For an illuminating survey of the S. P. G. work, see Sir Edward Midwinter, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church in the American Colonies," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, IV, 67-82. Sir Edward carries his New York account through the Revolution, quickly presenting the work at each mission station for whites, Indians, and Negroes.

¹⁰The famous Sermon of Bishop Warburton before the S. P. G. in 1766 is found in *The Huntington Library, A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; At Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow, on Friday, February 21, 1766, by the Right Reverend Father in God, William Lord Bishop of Gloucester, London; Printed by E. Owen and T. Harrison in Warwick-Lane. MDCCCLXVI.* The records of the Society constantly present the problems of finance. The collection of the funds, from a widespread base, testify to the success of the Society's appeals. The disbursements were a constant problem, for not all of the demands for help could be met.

¹¹Neau had left his position as an elder in the French Church to conform to the Church of England. He stated that he devotedly approved of the English Liturgy, much of which he had learned while in the dungeons.

the Governor, Lord Cornbury, and confirmed in that position by the Society, with the approval of the Bishop of London. He worked with enthusiasm and devised special methods of work. He reported that the Rector of Trinity Church and Commissary for New York, the Rev. William Vesey,¹²

. . . read a note on Sunday morning in the church in the form of an exhortation to the masters and mistresses to take care to send me their slaves every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday at five o'clock in the evening to the end that I may teach them the principles of our holy religion. They sent me to the number of thirty. . . . These people come in such great numbers Sundays only. Wednesdays and Fridays there comes but eight or ten. . . . I have performed this office for the space of two months, and . . . the number of my catechists diminish instead of increasing. The inhabitants do not lay to heart their own salvation. . . . The love of pleasure and of perishing goods is so rooted in their hearts and minds that there is no room left for piety . . . impurity, blasphemy, and public adulteries are crimes which are committed openly in the sight of the world.¹³

Mr. Neau concluded his letter by saying that, although he would use his best endeavours to instruct the Negroes, he questioned, in moments of discouragement, the Society's rapid success with the slaves. Mr. Vesey had promised to cooperate by preaching sermons to his white congregation on Negro Christianization. Mr. Neau believed he, himself, would be more successful as a layman, than in Orders, because this work would seem less pretentious. An early report to the Society indicates a striking initial success and its statistics are worthy

¹²Vesey at first opposed Neau because he was in the French Church congregation, but Neau soon proved a zealous "servant of Christ in proselyting the miserable Negroes . . ." and became a constant communicant of Vesey's Church, and Vesey wrote to the Secretary that Neau was doing "great service to God and his Church." See William Vesey to John Chamberlayne, New York, November, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A2 No. CXXX.

Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, was a grandson of the Earl of Clarendon of Charle II's reign and a cousin of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. He later inherited the Clarendon title. Edward Channing in his *A History of the United States* (New York, 1920), II, p. 436, states, "Lord Cornbury was the most discreditable governor New York ever had and also one of the firmest adherents of the Established Church in the province." He prosecuted Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian minister, for preaching without the Governor's license. Makemie was acquitted, and the New York dissenters were powerful enough to secure Cornbury's recall and thereby ended the prosecution of Protestant dissenters in New York. As the eighteenth century reached maturity, Presbyterians, due in part to the Scotch-Irish immigration, gathered strength everywhere and identified themselves in New York and elsewhere with the Independence movement. Channing, IV, 446-447.

¹³Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, October 3, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) A2, No. CXXIV.

of reproduction here as a list of notable names in the early support of the Society's program.

<i>Master or Mistress</i>	<i>Women sent</i>	<i>Men sent</i>	<i>Catechisms given</i>	<i>Other books</i>
My Lord Cornbury	1 mulatress		2 catechisms	2
Mr. Vesey	2 negresses		2 do.	2.2 letters
Mr. Wm. Leaths	2 negresses	1 Indian	3 do.	3.3 do.
Mr. Abr. Wandil	1 negress		1 do.	1 do.
Mrs. Widow Keep	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Capt. Trevet	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Stanton	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Joseph Smith	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Dudelo	1 negress	1 negro	2 catechisms	2.2 letters
Mr. Crook	1 negress	1 negro	2 do.	2.2 do.
Mr. Skentour		1 negro	1 do.	2.2 do.
Mr. Mool		1 negro	1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Daniel Cromelin	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Welson Sheriff		1 negro	1 do.	1.1 do.
Mrs. Jourdain	1 negress		1 do.	1.1 do.
Mr. Fauconnier	1 negress	1 negro	2 do.	
Mr. de Neak		1 negro	1 do.	
Mr. Burgins		1 negro	1 do.	
Mr. George Milar		1 negro	1 do.	
Mr. Boarn Boum		1 negro	1 do.	
Mr. Abraham Keep	1 negress		1 do.	}
Mr. Brodfurt	1 negress	1 negro	2 do.	
Mr. Vandam	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Morin	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Allaire	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Isaac Nephtaly	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Henry Shepherds	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Blockgrose	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Richard Laurins	1 negress		1 do.	
Col. Depatris		1 negro	1 do.	
Col. Morice		1 negro	1 do.	
Mr. Bloom	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. Mindar	1 negress		1 do.	
Mr. John Vincent	1 negress		1 do.	
Mrs. Van Vosse		2 negros	2 do.	
Mrs. Marcomb	1 she Indian	2 Indians	2 do.	

28 Women [18] Men 46 Books (14)

In his letter the following month, Mr. Neau reported,

I had a good number of scholars that made me hope I should be force to bring them to church under the tower, because my room could not holt [sic] them all, which was what Mr. Vesey and I resolved to do, but instead of the numbers increasing, it has been much diminished, for the most that come on Sundays are between 12 and 20, and Wednesdays and Fridays 6, 8, or 10 . . . This city is the chief, for I dare say there is more than a thousand Negroes that are actually there, great and small, men and women, and I make no difficulty—to say that the slaves that are amongst us are more

¹⁴Translation of *Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, October 3, 1705*, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) A2, No. CXXIV*. The number of men is not summed up in the MSS.

numerous than all the Indians, . . . I would say that one may make more proselytes of the blacks than of the Indians, . . .¹⁵

By March 1, 1706, Neau was able to report a few new pupils; many of his pupils were irregular in attendance; some, indeed, came but two or three times, took the catechisms, and never returned. As often happened elsewhere, after the first burst of enthusiasm, the real long time difficulties appeared. He explained that he had “. . . not been catechizing in the country, because if they that live in the city have not time enough of whom there [are] a great many, they that live in the country have much less.”¹⁶ Moreover, he had heard that many ministers were beginning to catechize the Negroes in their own parishes.

At this stage the question of the legal effects of baptism raised its head. Mr. Neau wrote to the Society that Mr. Vesey had baptized some Negroes, “. . . against the will and without the knowledge of their masters, because they [the masters] fear lest by baptism they should become temporally free.”¹⁷ Mr. Neau joined with Mr. Vesey in encouraging the masters in the right way of thinking, especially the Dutch and the French, but they could not free the owners from this fear. And accordingly, the two workers resolved

. . . to obtain an act of assembly to confirm the right of the inhabitants over their slaves after baptism in the same manner that they had it before, for without that, they will not suffer them to be instructed, for fear they should be baptized without their knowledge. I reckon that there are in this town above 1000 slaves, and that if their masters would take as much care of their salvation as they do of the bodily health (for the sake of the work they do for them) I should not be able to do my office alone, but unhappily they seek not the kingdom of God and his righteousness . . . solid piety is very rare in this country.¹⁸

In November, 1706, the act was passed for which Mr. Neau had been working, and Lord Cornbury publicly announced his approval.¹⁹

¹⁵Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 15, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A2, No. CXXV.

¹⁶Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, March 1, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) A2, No. CLIX.

¹⁷Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, April 30, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A2, No. CLXVII.

¹⁸Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, April 30, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A2, No. CLXVII.

¹⁹Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, December 28, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A3, No. XVII. Mr. Neau enclosed a copy of the Act with this letter to the Secretary.

Mr. Neau hoped for greater success under the new legal assurances, but asked for the prayers of the Society in his undertaking because, he wrote, ". . . my career is full of difficulties and because I attack the Devil in his fort, he fails not to lay snares in my way."²⁰

As expected, this legislation produced the desired effect, for, in the summer of 1707, Neau reported the number of his catechumens as "mightily augmented," so that he now had above 100. He had furnished the second story of his lodging for their use. The room, as described, was forty-eight feet long and twenty-two broad, and would hold two or three hundred students. The most inconvenient part was that Neau had to receive the Negroes after dark, because they worked all day, except on Sundays. Neau explained his plans,

I have changed the method I took in the beginning a little, or rather changed nothing, but have added a few things as prayers and singing of psalms, that encourages both them and me, for I represent to them that God placed them in the world only for his glory; and that in praying and singing those divine praises, one doth in part obey his commands. I observe with pleasure that they strive who shall sing best. I have but 8 to 9 of those people who are baptized. The others are not at least a great many who might be for asking. I endeavour to make them comprehend the necessity of baptism, but their hearts are desperately corrupted. . . . Catechising days . . . are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. I would catechize them much oftener, but their masters desire me not to keep them long. I keep them always two hours in summer, but longer in winter. . . . I want 200 small catechisms of the cheapest sort . . . [and] an English psalter with the singing notes. There are none in this country. . . .²¹

A memorable picture of conditions of work and of the fortitude shown by Mr. Neau, and the slaves assembling at the end of the working day is contained in a revealing letter to the Society,

I have the honor of sending you two copies of the act of Assembly in the months of November and December last, I hope that at least one of them is come safe to your hands, by that Sir you will perceive that they have begun to give me some encouragement in the instruction of slaves, and what has done us no harm has been, that the Dutch minister has also

²⁰Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 28, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A3, No. XVII.

²¹Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, July 24, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A3, No. CXXVIII. Neau said also that he was drawing £100 for two years' salary. He had given up most all of his business to instruct the Negroes.

preached up the necessity of that matter, since when I have had a great number of catechumens. I would have had 'em to church to instruct them in the usual places, viz. the belfrey, but besides, that that is too little to contain them, I am moreover obliged to keep my school by candle light; because in the day time they are employed in working, neither would it be so easy for them, nor me, especially in winter, for which reason I have fitted up for them a place in the house where I live, 'tis a room up two pair of stairs of 48 foot in length and 22 in breadth. I have placed benches for them to sit on and to encourage them to come; I endeavor as much as is possible to give them an idea altogether spiritual of a Being infinitely perfect. I cause them to pray and sing psalms, reading every time each verse to them. This draws abundance of people to see and hear them. 'Tis certain Sir, that some of them appear affected with the truths of our religion. Last Sunday I had 75 of 'em men and women, but I have not above 8 or 9 that are baptized. I shall want 200 catechisms of the smallest sort that have been sent me before, divided into 13 lessons, in order to distribute from time to time. Sir, I must also inform you that I have drawn a bill of £100 upon the Treasurer at one month's sight for two years salary due the first of August, for I have not yet begun to reckon it, but from the arrival of Mr. Brooke who brought me your letter confirming me anew in the office of catechist, the time which I had begun before having been interrupted as I had the honor to write you, I count nothing for it. I don't think it necessary Sir, to tell you that I have been obliged to quit a good part of my business to the end that I might act with greater liberty in this employment, you will easily imagine it. If these people with whom I have to do were free, I should have some ease by teaching them in the daytime, but God has given me the grace to accommodate myself to all and to surmount these little difficulties. I don't begin to teach them in summer any more than in winter till sunset or till candlelighting. . . .²²

The musical gifts of the Negro, as already mentioned, appeared early and attracted white attention. The sensitive ear of the African was apparent not merely in music, but in learning a new language, English for example. The eagerness to learn new languages and new forms of song, both in contrast with the Indian's reserved habit, made a ready means of communication with the missionary and the white man's culture.²³

Although the number of catechumens remained large during the

²²Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, July 22, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A3, No. LXXX.

²³For an appraisal of the Negro's linguistic capacity see Allen Walker Read "The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIV, No. 3, July, 1939, pp. 247-258.

following year, Mr. Neau still lamented the fact that the slaves were not encouraged by their masters. Some, he said, dared not come to him at all, because, he wrote,

. . . upon desiring the approbation of their Masters to be baptised they are either threatened to be sold to Virginia or else to be sent into the Country if they come any more to school; Good God! What sort of religion have these people for my part I can't help saying that they have none at all; but you must not believe Sir that all Masters are of this mind, only it falls out unfortunately that the Slaves of the aforesaid Masters have been the best fitted for Instruction and have had their heart touched by those truths which they know.²⁴

But the difficulties inherent in the Christianization of the slaves became increasingly apparent and the cultural gap was not to be bridged in a day. Mr. Neau observed ". . . with sorrow that the knowledge they acquire makes but little impression on their hearts and indeed the corruption that reigns and which like a torrent overflows all our country, serves only to strengthen them in the unfortunate practice of vice."²⁵ Mr. Neau's school, in spite of obstacles, continued to progress, and after his pupils learned the catechism he took them to Mr. Vesey to be examined, then to the Church to be baptized, with free and white persons for witnesses. On Easter, 1710, two Negroes and three Negresses of his catechumens were baptized, and on Whitsunday, one Negro and two Negresses.²⁶ Mr. Neau reported with satisfaction that ". . . the negros who have been baptized do their best to have their children baptised also. . . . But the greatest number remain without baptism because the masters don't care. . . ."²⁷ However, the Frenchman's success was held up as an example to other missionaries. John Thomas of Hempstead made a spirited reply to Secretary Chamberlayne and explained the problems of a large rural parish, ending his letter with a contrast,

Sir, I hold a very amicable correspondence with Mr. Elias Neau, whom you propose in yours as a pattern and example to us missionaries, and whom I likewise esteem a good man: but please to consider that his business is wholly with the

²⁴Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, August 24, 1708, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A4, No. 68.

²⁵Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, February 27, 1709, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A4, No. 121A.

²⁶Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, July 5, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A5, No. CXXXIV. On the Church holy days, Mr. Neau usually distributed the small tracts sent to him by the Society.

²⁷Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, October 3, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A6, No. XLIII.

slaves at New York City where they live contiguously and when they come to his house; ours, to prepare for preaching every Lord's Day twice, besides visiting and instructing the poor ignorant people of my parish, who are distantly scattered about the wilderness, overgrown with almost invincible ignorance. I appeal to the . . . Society, whether this be not employment sufficient for one man conscientiously to perform. Your zeal for the conversion of infidels is eminently glorious and charitable, but I have within my district infidels, God knows, of my colour, too many, upon whom I bend my whole force. . . .²⁸

The Rev. John Bartow of West Chester, in writing on the same subject said frankly that he had ". . . lately baptized a free negro man and three children and a negro woman servant, but 'tis very rare that those people can be brought to have any true sense of the Christian religion."²⁹ These straightforward doubts show a spirit of free inquiry and free report, and an exchange of ideas between headquarters and field men.

In the year 1711, Mr. Neau made some interesting comparisons between the conduct of the whites and Negroes, and, incidentally, defended the slaves under his instructions well in advance of the insurrection of the following year:

. . . It is true that I have not as many student whites as I have of them, but that is a matter of fluctuation because sometimes I have had more and at other times less. It is according to the whim of our youth, which is extremely libertine in this country, because it doesn't love spiritual things. . . . They [the masters] will come to recognize that the trouble and expense of the illustrious Society is not without fruit, because the Christian religion inspires in their slaves love and obedience to their masters and mistresses. But one responds to that that one doesn't notice any change. In this the real reason is the great number of slaves that are in the city. There is not one in ten that comes to the catechism. They are naturally libertines and those to whom they belong do not bother themselves much about their welfare so long as they serve well. Thus it is as much the fault of the masters as that of the negroes if their slaves are not good men. Furthermore the bad examples of the whites confirm the negroes only

²⁸John Thomas to Secretary John Chamberlayne, Hamstead, June 12, 1709, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A5, No. IX. Mr. Thomas said the whites in his parish had degenerated into atheism and infidelity; the Indians were incapable of any Christian impression.

²⁹John Bartow to John Chamberlayne, West Chester, New York, November 30, 1710, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A5, No. CLXXIX; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, II, April 20, 1711. Mr. Bartow asks in this letter for more Common Prayer Books and Catechisms.

too much in their impenitence and in their [undecipherable word]. I have been told that the negroes bear on their foreheads the marks of the reprobation and that their color and their condition confirms that opinion. I always cry out against the temerity that dares *fouiller* in the impenetrables of God, and furthermore I do not see that the turpitude of their crimes is more atrocious than that of the whites, because we are only too often scandalized by the horrors that the Christians commit. I know, sir, that the evil of one doesn't excuse that of the other, but at least these wretches are in some sort more excusable. I must tell you after that that Mr. [Vesey] baptized six persons the day after Christmas last, to wit two men and four women black slaves, and the day after Paque he baptized four negroes. There would be a great *moisson* to make . . . [if] the masters desired as much the welfare of their slaves as they desire the health of their bodies. I can assure you, sir, that those who were baptized had it done to them without consent of their masters and there are . . . [some] who wish me ill and many negroes come to catechism unknown to their masters. . . .³⁰

The Negro uprising of 1712 is vividly described by the Rev. John Sharpe in a report to the Secretary of the Society,

Some negroe slaves here of the Nations of Carmantee and Pappa, plotted to destroy all the white, in order to obtain their freedom, and kept their conspiracy secret that there was not the least suspicion of it. . . . It was agreed to on New Year's day, the conspirators tying themselves to secrecy by sucking the blood of each others hands. And to make them invulnerable, as they believed, a free negro who pretends sorcery gave them a powder to rub on their clothes, which made them so confident that on Sunday night, April 1 [not clear on MSS], about two o'clock, . . . they set fire to a house, which alarming the town, they stood in the streets and shot down and stabbed as many as they could, till a great gun from the Fort called up the inhabitants in arms, who soon scattered them. They murdered about 8 and wounded about 12 more. . . . Some . . . in their flight shot themselves. One shot first his wife and then himself, and some who had hid themselves in town, when they went to apprehend them, cut their own throats. Many were convicted and about 18 have suffered death. This barbarous conspiracy of the negroes . . . opened the mouths of many against negroes being made Christians.³¹

³⁰Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, n. p. [New York], n. d. [c. May, 1711], in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A6, No. LXXXVII. (A rough translation only.)

³¹John Sharpe to [Secretary], New York, June 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A7, pp. 215-218. The reader should note that New Year's Day at that time was March 25th and not January 1st.

The terror inspired by this outburst caused the usual hue and cry for a scapegoat so that Mr. Neau dared hardly appear, because his school was at first blamed as a factor in it.³² However, only two Negroes had been pupils of his, and one only was a baptized person. Condemned on slender evidence, this slave was, after his execution, believed to have been innocent by the generality of the people. The other catechumen was a slave of an eminent merchant, Hendrick Hooghlantdt. This slave had tried for two years to gain Mr. Hooghlantdt's consent to baptism, but had failed. He confessed to Mr. Sharpe that he knew of the conspiracy but was not guilty of murder in the tumult. The cry against catechizing the Negroes continued for some time, but Mr. Sharpe wrote hopefully,

. . . and what is very observable the persons whose negroes have been found guilty are such as are declared opposers of Christianizing negroes. . . . Upon the whole the Christian religion has been much blasphemed, and the Society's pious design has been much obstructed by this bloody attempt of the negroes, I am hopeful that both shall be promoted since it appears on trial that those are innocent who have been seasoned with principles of religion and those are a small number that come to school in comparison of the many hundred that are in this place. I believe not above the tenth.³³

Other clergy as well came to Mr. Neau's aid, notably the Rev. Thomas Barclay, conspicuous for his work with the Mohawk Indians.³⁴ He wrote that, although only one of Mr. Neau's proselytes was concerned in the conspiracy, the abolition of missionary work among the Negroes was being considered; even Mr. Vesey, he said, had become lukewarm.³⁵

The Society's Secretary, rallying to Mr. Neau's defence, wrote,

It is to be hoped people will conceive better things than to believe Christianity makes men worse, or that it is any sub-

³²A petition against Neau was started, but the Governor stood by Neau's cause and it was dropped.

³³John Sharpe to [Secretary], New York, June 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A7, pp. 215-218.

³⁴For an account of Barclay's success, see Frank J. Klingberg, "The Noble Savage as Seen by the S. P. G. Missionary in Colonial New York, 1702-1750," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VIII, No. 2, June, 1929, pp. 128-165.

³⁵Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, New York, May 31, 1712 [Post Script], in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A7, pp. 204-206. Mr. Barclay expressed the hope that the Society would encourage the Governor of New York, because he had remained faithful to Neau and his efforts.

stantial objection against the duty of your office, or the design of the Society in endeavoring to convert infidels to true religion, which teaches men otherwise. I hope they are before this time convinced to the contrary, and that none instructed by you were in that fact or that they ought not to draw inferences from the bad practices of one professor or rather probationer, to the prejudice of religion in general or the pious endeavours of the Society by the means in particular.³⁶

Governor Hunter, a member of the Society, likewise was fully convinced of the innocence of Neau's scholars, and, in December, 1712, endorsed Mr. Neau's instruction by visiting the school, in the company of several missionaries.³⁷ Two years later, in 1714, the Governor inserted a paragraph in his proclamation commending Negro instruction, and ordered all of his own slaves to go to Neau's school.³⁸ The Common Council, however, made an order by which the Negroes of the city were forbidden to go along the streets without lanterns. This order was an indirect attack on Neau's school, for it was well known that the slaves did not come to be catechized until after sunset, and frequently without their master's knowledge. The masters were unlikely to furnish lanterns or candles for this purpose.³⁹

The Rev. Thomas Barclay, in coming to Neau's defence, became sufficiently interested to begin Negro work himself. In 1713, he reported the baptism of two Negroes, one free, and the other a slave.⁴⁰ In a different environment at Albany, he found fewer obstacles in his way. He had about thirty adult catechumens, five of whom had been baptized. Barclay wrote,

The names of the baptized are, Elizabeth, the slave of Barnet Bratt citizen of Albany; Jacob the slave of Col. Killian Van Rensselaer, lord of the manor Rensselaer Wick; Brit slave of Robert Livingstone, Junior esq., Mayor of Albany, Scipio

³⁶*William Taylor to Elias Neau, London, November 6, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A7, p. 277.*

³⁷*Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, December 15, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A7, pp. 226-227.*

³⁸*Elias Neau and others to the Rev. Gentlemen of the Clergy Assembled in the city of New York, February 28, 1713/14 in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A8, pp. 292-293. Neau asked the clergy to thank the Governor for his endeavors.*

³⁹*Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, September 8, 1713, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A8, p. (?)*

⁴⁰*Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, April 17, 1713, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A8, p. 167.*

the slave of Peter Matthers, commandant of the garrison; and Christiana the slave of Gerrit Van'est, citizen of Albany.⁴¹

Barclay catechized at his own house, on Sundays after the service, and on Wednesday and Friday evenings. He instructed many slaves in the Dutch language because few of them in this Dutch Community understood English. Encouragingly he wrote to the Society,

I am glad to acquaint the . . . Society that I find in these poor slaves a great forwardness to embrace the faith of Christ and a readiness to receive instruction . . . the first thing I inculcate upon them is that by being baptized they are not free. I am obliged with the greatest caution to manage this work, and I have publicly declared that I will admit none of them into the Church by baptism till I have obtained their masters consent. Yea, I send them home without instruction who cannot have their masters' allowance to come, for some masters are so ignorant and averse that by no entreaties can their consent be had. . . .⁴²

Barclay was supported by a certain Col. Killian van Rensselaer and his wife, who sent their slaves constantly, and publicly declared that their Negroes were better for being instructed,⁴³ and from Col. Matthews, Mr. Livingstone Jr., Col. Peter Schuyler, and others. Barclay's insistence on securing the consent of the masters before he gave instruction⁴⁴ is worthy of special mention. These prominent citizens,

⁴¹Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, June 29, 1714, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A9, p. 144.

⁴²Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, June 29, 1714, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A9, pp. 144-145.

⁴³A brief history of the Van Rensselaer family can be found in a recent publication by Henry W. Farnam, (Edited by Clive Day), *Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1860*, (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1938), pp. 43, 44, 96. On pp. 42-43, Farnam states, "The Dutch . . . in 1629 decided to offer manorial privileges to leaders who would establish settlements there [New Netherland]. These leaders, dignified by the term patroons, were tempted by the offer of tracts of land. . . ."

The only patroons who succeeded in getting any substantial advantage from their grants . . . were the Van Rensselaers, who built up a settlement near Albany. Under the English rule the Van Rensselaers colony was converted into 'an English manor . . .' and new manors were constituted: Livingston, Cortlandt, Fordham, Pelham . . ."

⁴⁴Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, June 29, 1714, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A9, pp. 145-146; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.) III, January 21, 1714/15. His only opposition was from a Major Mindet Schuyler and his brother-in-law, Peter Vandressen, minister of the Dutch Congregation at Albany. He declared that Schuyler bore no good will to the Society, and Vandressen was a novice sent over from Amsterdam, and he was ". . . both ignorant of the constitution of his own or our Church, . . . and has obstructed my labors not only of late but while I labored among the Mohawk Indians."

following the example of the clergy in sending their own slaves, gave their stamp of approval in establishing new customs.

Another fellow-missionary, the Rev. Daniel Bondet,⁴⁵ stationed at New Rochelle from 1709 to 1722, was struck by the fact that a number of the Negroes in the town had learned the principles of the Christian religion by listening to the family service. He encouraged these slaves, by assigning them seats in his Church. At catechizing time, he questioned them as well as the white candidates. On Whitsunday, 1715, he baptized a Negro mother and her daughter,⁴⁶ and two years later he admitted two carefully instructed Negroes to Communion.⁴⁷

In New York City, Neau, not in orders, could not baptize his catechumens; and, in December, 1715, he charged Vesey with refusing to baptize an eighteen-year-old mulatto girl, even though she had a letter from her mistress desiring that she be baptized. The mistress thereupon sent a note to the chaplain of the fort who catechized and baptized the girl. Continuing the controversy, Neau charged that Mr. Vesey, doubtless alarmed by the Negro uprising, had not read in church the Governor's proclamation against vice and immorality, because one clause encouraged the instruction of the Negroes. Since Mr. Vesey was not a missionary of the Society, but was appointed by the Bishop of London, the matter of his conduct was evaded by it.⁴⁸ The Society instead decided to investigate Neau's business activities, for it regarded trading as open to question. And accordingly, Neau, despite his successful work, was discharged with the allowance of a year's salary.⁴⁹ He at once wrote to the Society and enclosed a certificate signed by Governor Hunter and several clergy of the Province giving a good account of his services, and, after careful consideration, he was vindicated and reinstated as catechist.⁵⁰ In 1719, as evidence of the cooperation of prominent people, Neau sent to the Society a list of the catechumen slaves who came constantly to his school since

⁴⁵*Daniel Bondet had formerly been a French minister. He was driven out of France, ordained by the Bishop of London, and was employed for a time by the New England Company.*

⁴⁶*Daniel Bondet to [Secretary], New Rochelle, July 22, 1715, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, February 3, 1715/16.*

⁴⁷*Daniel Bondet to [Secretary], New Rochelle, November 12, 1717, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, October 24, 1718.*

⁴⁸*Abstract of letters from Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, December 6, 1715, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, June 15, 1716, and September 21, 1716.*

⁴⁹*Journal of the S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, March 7, 1717/18. However, the Society delivered a Memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury stating that Neau's dismissal had been made for the purpose of reducing expenses. See Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, September 19, 1718.*

⁵⁰*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IV, March 20, 1718/1719.*

his reinstatement.⁵¹ The list includes several free blacks and therefore gives a hint of the amazingly complicated relationships inevitable in a slave society. This inter-relationship of slave, freedman, Indian, free and slave, has been made a subject of special study by the Department

⁵¹*A list of the Negroes taught by Mr. Neau, December 23, 1719, inclosed in Elias Neau to David Humphreys, New York, January 22, 1720, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A14, pp. 141-143. These are in addition to the white apprentices, boys and girls.*

<i>Masters and Mistresses Names</i>	<i>Negro Men Their Ages by Guess</i>		<i>Negro Women Their Ages by Guess</i>		<i>Negro Boys Negro Girls</i>
Coll ^o Depeyter	1	45 yrs	2	50 yrs 35	the negro man Bap. & Com. ^t
Capt. Isaac Depetyr	1	30 yrs			he is baptized Anthony
Mr. Jacob Vinross	3	30 25 yrs 20	1	50 yrs	the men bap. Jephthy, Robert, & John
Mr. D ^l Cromelin	1	24 yrs		1	
Mr. Vandham	1	30 yrs	2	40 yrs 30	1 the women & boy bap. Susanah Lillie, & Jacob.
Mr. Philip Scuyler			1	25 yrs	a communicant
Mr. Graves			1	35	1 both baptized
Mrs. Rattray			2	45 24	both comm ^{ts} Mary: Sarah
Mrs. Narett			1	22	baptized Annah
Mr. Hardinbourg	1	20 yrs			baptized Cesar
Mary black free woman			1	45	baptized
Aigar D ^o			1	40	baptized
Mr. Th: Robert	1	25			baptized
Magdalin free woman			1	25	baptized
Mr. Catale	1	26	1	25	baptized
Mr. Minville	1	35	1	50	woman baptized
Corn ^t Depetyr	1	30			baptized
Mr. Vanhorn	1	30			
Andr: Franccan	1	30			
Dr. Dupey	2	30 28	2	25 40	One man baptized
Abrah. Vanghorn	2	45 30			one communicant
Mr. Bone	2	28 30			both baptized
Mr. Rindell	1	26			communicant
Mr. Alex ⁿ Moore			1	22	
Mr. Sim. Souman			1	30	baptized
Mr. Harrison				1	
Mrs. Droyer			1	25	
Mr. Wright	2	35:30			baptized John & George
Mr. Drick de Neack	2	30:27			baptized John & Oliver
Mr. John Read	1	30			
Annah free black woman			1	45	
Mr. Conrads Comfort	1	22			
Mr. Bachan					1
Mr. Gerr ^d Vanhorn			1	35	
Mr. Ed ^d Elsward			12	25	
Mr. Bayeur	1	40	1	35	2 1 baptized Dorothy
Mr. Renehett				1	1 all baptized
Mrs. Marit				1	1
Mr. Abrah. Evans				1	
Mad ^m Ingoldshoes	1	28			
Mr. Governoua					2

of History of the Carnegie Institution in a monumental five volume work.⁵²

The Society had asked Neau to take his students to church for catechizing, but he replied that the church was not large enough even for the whites, and furthermore, many of the slaves were bashful, because, as yet, they pronounced the English language very poorly.⁵³ In 1720, he reported that two of his Negroes had received the Holy Communion, and five had been baptized by Mr. Vesey.⁵⁴ In June, 1721, Neau reported steady progress,

. . . I have caused eight of my catechumens to be baptized: four at Christmas, 2 negro men and two negro women, and 4 in Whitsunday week . . . by the consent of their masters, which they gived by a note they wrote to the Rev. Mr. Veesy, and he baptized them in the Church before the whole congregation. My school is numerous, yet there is but few who will go [to] the catechism of Mr. Huddleston in the Sunday at church for the reason I've told you last year. . . . I spare nothing to encourage them poor miserable slaves to learn them the way to be saved. A ship from Madagsor hath brought 120 of them since three weeks. The number doth increase daily and the spiritual harvest would be great if the glory of God was earnestly seeked by our white people.⁵⁵

<i>Masters and Mistresses Names</i>	<i>Negro Men Their Ages by Guess</i>	<i>Negro Women Their Ages by Guess</i>	<i>Negro Boys Negro Girls</i>
Mrs. Bloom			1
Mr. Derick Defort		1	1
Mr. Amillton	1 28		
Mr. Henry Lane	2 30:24		
Cornet: Vanhorn	1 20		
Jacobus Courland	1 35		
Aldolph Phillips	1 40		
D ^r Couling		1 35	
Mr. Congrove		1 30	
Mrs. Dekey		1 40	
Mr. Vanderhill	1 24		1
Mr. John Roswell			1
Mr. Jer: Reading	1 27		

Dec. 23: 1719 37 28 12 8 Elias Neau S:

⁵²*Helen Tunnicliff Catterall (Editor), Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro (Washington, 1926-1937), 5 volumes, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Volumes IV and V, brought out after Mrs. Catterall's death, were completed by James J. Hayden.*

⁵³*Translation of Elias Neau to David Humphreys, New York, January 22, 1720, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A14, pp. 110-111.*

⁵⁴*Translation of Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, November 20, 1720, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IV, April 21, 1721. The baptized included two men and three women; Neau was preparing others for baptism on Christmas.*

⁵⁵*Elias Neau to David Humphreys, New York, June 22, 1721, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A15, pp. 95-96; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IV, June 15, 1722.*

The problem of supplying the Negroes with simple religious literature constantly engaged the attention of the Society and its field workers. In 1722, Mr. Neau asked for Church Catechisms with the alphabet in them, because, he said, several Negroes learned to read and rehearse the Church Catechism at home, which was also a means for the white children of the Dutch and French to learn the catechism.⁵⁶ That same year, death brought Mr. Neau's activities to a close. His devotion to religious and charitable work was shown by his bequest of a considerable part of his estate.⁵⁷

Mr. Vesey asked the Society to appoint some one in Priest's Orders in Neau's place. In that way, Vesey would have some one to assist him in instructing the children, and the newcomer could function in all religious services.⁵⁸ The churchwardens and vestry of Trinity Church also petitioned the Society for an ordained catechist to replace Neau, urging that by the assistance of a man in Orders, the Society would, ". . . exceedingly advance the honor . . . of our holy Church . . . at this critical juncture when the Dissenters here have united their forces, and by the encouragement and liberal contributions from abroad, have been enabled to raise two meeting houses and support ministers. . . ." ⁵⁹

The Rev. William Huddleston, who had been catechizing slaves and apprentices on Sunday afternoons under Mr. Vesey's direction,⁶⁰ asked for Neau's position, saying that "Swarms of negroes come about my door and asking if I would be pleased to teach them and build on Mr. Neau's foundation. Mr. Neau upon his death had begged me

⁵⁶Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, May 22, 1722, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, February 15, 1722/1723. Neau also reported in this letter the baptisms of an Indian woman, and a mulatto woman; both had frequented his school.

⁵⁷Trinity Church received 20£, Rector of Trinity Church 25£, and several ministers welcomed substantial legacies. William Huddleston to David Humphreys, New York, Nov. 24, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, pp. 213-214.

⁵⁸Mr. Vesey said he had been officiating 24 years, and was in declining age and health, and his increasingly heavy burdens of parochial duties were more than he could do efficiently. See William Vesey to David Humphreys, New York, October 4, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, 209-210.

⁵⁹Minister, churchwardens, and vestry [of Trinity Church] to David Humphreys, New York, December 18, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, pp. 229-230. Which faith the dissenters belonged to was not mentioned, but Neau had earlier said his enemies included "Arians, Socinians, Quakers, deists." See Neau to David Humphreys, New York, April 2, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, p. 196.

⁶⁰William Huddleston to David Humphreys, New York, July 29, 1721, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A15, p. 98; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, June 10, 1722. Mr. Huddleston said he usually catechized about 100 a Sunday, and his wife was a great help to him in this work.

to do the same."⁶¹ Although Huddleston was permitted to take over these duties for a year,⁶² the work was given to the Rev. James Wetmore.⁶³ However, Huddleston was appointed as Negro catechist in the parish under Mr. Vesey, instead of being supported by the Society.⁶⁴ He remained faithful to his task until his death, in 1726. Never appointed by the Society, it nevertheless gave his widow, Sarah Huddleston, £50 as a reward for her husband's services.⁶⁵

Mr. Wetmore was warmly welcomed in New York. For his support, in addition to the Society's allowance, he reported that,

. . . a subscription was promoted for one year which amounts to 71£ in New York money. I assist the Rev. Mr. Vesey in his parochial work and attend catechizing every Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday evening at my own house besides in the church every Sunday before evening service. I have sometimes near 200 children and servants to instruct whom I teach the Church catechism and commonly add some practical discourse suitable to their capacities joined with some devotions.⁶⁶

But within two years after his arrival the usual ebb and flow appeared, and he complained that his catechumens were very few; the masters chose to instruct the Negroes at home, rather than let them venture into companies together. Following this argument, he was of the opinion that a missionary was not as necessary in New York as in other parts of the country where, he declared, ". . . people are wholly destitute." Mr. Wetmore also found it too expensive in New York, and asked for a transfer to Rye, New York.⁶⁷

The Society, upon receipt of this letter, appointed Mr. Wetmore to Rye, but asked him to explain his intimation that a catechist was no longer needed in New York. He complained that his energies were needlessly dissipated so that on Sundays, he read prayers in the morn-

⁶¹William Huddleston to David Humphreys, New York, November 24, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, pp. 213-214; same idea presented in a letter written by Huddleston Dec. 18, 1722, in *ibid.*, A. 16, p. 228.

⁶²William Huddleston to David Humphreys, New York, June 27, 1723, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A17, pp. 233-234. Huddleston wrote that he had been teaching the Negroes in the steeple every Sunday afternoon, and before and after the sermon at his own house, until he received further orders.

⁶³*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, December 20, 1723.

⁶⁴William Vesey to David Humphreys, New York, November 8, 1725, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 85.

⁶⁵*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, V, April 15, 1726.

⁶⁶James Wetmore to David Humphreys, New York, November 7, 1724, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A18, pp. 202-203; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, V, February 19, 1724/[1725]; see also a letter from Mr. Vesey to the Society thanking the members for Wetmore's appointment, November 6, 1724, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, V, February 19, 1724 [1725].

⁶⁷James Wetmore to David Humphreys, New York, June 24, 1726, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A19, p. 396.

ing, catechized at noon, preached in the afternoon, catechized again in the evening. In addition, he instructed his Negroes on Wednesday and Friday nights, gave catechisms to the poor whites and Negroes, and invited them to attend catechetical lectures. Mr. Wetmore then explained,

As to the negroes, they are not *sui juris* and I believe many of their masters are in fault, but most of them are so vicious that people don't care to trust them in companies together, and some have under pretense of going to catechizing taken opportunity to [be] absent from their masters service many days, so that when I discoursed with some they have told me they chose to instruct their servants at home. . . . I continued my instructions at eight o'clock Friday evenings, the first winter, in hopes of gaining a company, but was disappointed. Before spring I had not more than two or three negroes that attended.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, the officials of Trinity Church were not discouraged, but wrote the Society for another catechist. They asked the Society

. . . to appoint another catechist with the usual salary to officiate in this place, here being about one thousand and four hundred Indian and negro slaves, and the number daily increasing by births and importations from Guinea, and other parts. A considerable number of these negroes, by the Society's charity, have already been instructed in the principles of Christianity, have received holy baptism, are communicants of our Church, and frequently approach the altar. We doubt not but the Society has received from Mr. Neau, their former catechist, repeated accounts of the great success of his mission. And since Mr. Wetmore's appointment, we have with great pleasure observed on Sundays, upwards of an hundred English children and negro servants attending him in the Church and their Catechetical instruction being ended, singing Psalms and praising God with great Devotion.

The Honorable Society at all times and more especially of late has most zealously patronized the cause of these poor infidels, who otherwise might still have remained ignorant of the True God and the only way to happiness; and their great charity dispensed among them here, having already produced such blessed efforts, must raise them an extraordinary joy at present, will be a vast accession to their future happiness and increase their rewards of glory in another world. We could say much more on this occasion, but this we hope will be sufficient to guard them against any attempts to persuade them to turn their bounty another way and induce them to believe,

⁶⁸James Wetmore to David Humphreys, West Chester, December 3, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B1, No. 72.

that the office of a catechist here, is of as great an importance as ever, and that his salary is as well and charitably bestowed, as any missionary in all these parts.⁶⁹

Mr. Vesey supported this request and recommended the appointment of the Rev. Thomas Colgan, and arranged for continued support,

I am sensible what endeavors have been used to divert the current of the Society's bounty another way, but I trust that no solicitations will ever pre [vail] on that Venerable Body to withhold from the poor slaves of this city the means of catechetical instruction which their great charity has for so many years been vouchsafed to them. For sure I am that the Society cannot do a greater charity to these poor infidels, than to employ a person on purpose to instruct them to in the principles of religion, who I fear would otherwise remain ignorant of the true God, and the only way to happiness. . . . The number of slaves . . . already amounting to near one thousand five hundred souls, which are redeemed by . . . the Society's charitable assistance. . . . The only imaginable objection against it, is that some Masters are not so forward as they should be to command their slaves duely to catechist.⁷⁰

The Society appointed the Rev. Mr. Colgan in December, 1726,⁷¹ and the following May he reported that his catechumens numbered only fifty, mostly white, but he expected an increased attendance of slaves, and asked for Prayer Books and Church Catechisms to distribute among them.⁷² In December, 1728, he reported his black students as numbering sixty, and the adults among them had "a pretty good knowledge of the principles of the Christian religion." He had baptized men, women, and children, and those who could read attended public service.⁷³ The masters, he believed, were becoming more compliant, careful, and desirous of having their Negroes educated. In 1731, the Rev. Thomas Colgan was transferred to Jamaica, Long Island, and next year his New York position as catechist was filled by the Rev.

⁶⁹Rector, Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church to [Secretary], New York, July 5, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B1, No. 73. The qualifications for the new catechist included a good, clear voice, pious character, education and orders.

⁷⁰William Vesey to David Humphreys, December 20, 1726, New York, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A19, pp. 421-422. The success of Neau and Hudsonston is stressed in this letter.

⁷¹Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, December 16, 1726.

⁷²Thomas Colgan to David Humphreys, New York, May 10, 1727, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A20, p. 186.

⁷³Thomas Colgan to David Humphreys, New York, December 23, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A21, p. 376. Colgan again asked for Prayer Books for those who could read.

Richard Charlton.⁷⁴ Mr. Charlton explained that in the summer season he had a large number of catechumens, but, in the winter, the severity of the weather reduced attendance. However, he was able to report eighteen Negroes baptized, six of them adults, from April 23, 1732, to April 23, 1733.⁷⁵ This number rose to thirty-four from April 20, 1735, to April 20, 1736.⁷⁶ The Negroes naturally were learning slowly. He asked for Common Prayer Books with the New Version of Psalms, some catechisms with explanations for those Negroes who could read. Many Negroes could repeat the Church Catechism from memory, ". . . and give a tollerable acc^t of the Lord's Supper."⁷⁷ Mr. Charlton wrote in 1739,

The great numb^r of Negroes here, belonging to Mas^{rs} of different persuasions, and I am sorry to say of many, so negligent of their instruction, will I doubt not, tho' of a different colour yet having precious & immortal souls, be always look'd upon as true objects of y^e Charity. I for my part wth the assistance of God will do what in me lies to promote their Salvation. . . .⁷⁸

Beginning in the following year, 1740, Mr. Charlton's records noted that his Negro catechumens, who had been remiss, were more diligent in their attendance, and were improving surprisingly. Some masters supported his activities, a change due in part to public and private exhortations. Mr. Charlton wrote to Secretary Philip Bearcroft,

I am now training up more yⁿ 20 Negroe children in the way of religion, and i am instructing near an equal number of Adults in the Christian faith, who as they are qualified are admitted to baptism. Some of y^e former have been recev^d into y^e Church when Infants: but alas! if we shod rest there, they might have the form wth out ever acknowledging the power of Godliness.

Since y^e year of my appointment for New York, 20th of April 1732 there have been 198 Negroes bap: 24 of w^{ch} were Adults. And since the 20th of October Last to y^e 20th of

⁷⁴Richard Charlton had asked for the position in 1731 but was not appointed immediately. See Charlton to [Secretary], June 6, 1731, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, V, November 19, 1731.

⁷⁵Richard Charlton to [Secretary], New York, June 5, 1733, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, March 15, 1733/[1734].

⁷⁶Richard Charlton to [Secretary], New York, December 13, 1736, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, May 20, 1737; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A26, p. 311.

⁷⁷Richard Charlton to [Philip Bearcroft], New York, December 3, 1739, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B7, pt. II, p. 103.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

Apr¹¹ 1740, 16 Negro children and Six Adults were baptised and there are now 6 Negro Com^{ts}.⁷⁹

In March, 1740, Mr. Charlton reported that he read, after Divine Service on Fridays, a short lecture upon part of the Church Catechism, and afterwards examined the catechumens out of Lewis' *Exposition of the Church Catechism*. The vestry of Trinity Church, to encourage the undertaking, had reprinted between 200 and 300 of the Catechisms. The student of these Anglican records gains the impression that much was required of the Negroes, in the way of attendance, instruction and attainment, and that superficial work was discouraged.

It should be noted that the missionary was equipped both as school-master and catechist with the considerable literature provided for the purpose, the origin of the great volume of tracts which provided the lower classes with dramatic and solid reading in the Victorian period. Every missionary appointed by the S.P.G. was given not only a "Mission Library," but small books and tracts for distribution among the whites, Negroes, and Indians. The catechists often asked for Bibles, Common Prayer Books, Church Catechisms and the Expositions on the Catechism, also books such as the Homilies, Expositions on the Articles, and spelling books. Sometimes the translation of these books was required either for the Dutch, French, or Indian language, according to the racial backgrounds of the inhabitants.⁸⁰ Under this

⁷⁹Richard Charlton to [Philip Bearcroft], New York, July 15, 1740, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B7, P. II, p. 106. In addition to the Negroes, many white children and servants attended catechism.

⁸⁰The books most commonly called for by the Society's workers among the heathen were: (1) Thomas Wilson (Bishop of Sodor and Man), *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest capacities: or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians, which will be of use to such Christians as have not well considered the meaning of the Religion they profess* . . . London, 1741, (Huntington Library); (2) Bishop Gibson, *Three Addresses on the Instruction of the Negroes* (1727), which includes an address to the Christians in England to promote Negro instruction, another to the Masters and Mistresses in the plantations, and one to the Society's missionaries; (3) Lewis, *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, was the favorite explanation of the Catechism for students, although others could be found in the missionaries' libraries, such as *The Church-Catechism broke into short Questions*, Worthington's *Scripture Catechism*, Dr. Woodward's *Short Catechism, with an Explanation of diverse hard Words, New Method of Catechizing*, and Bishop Gloucester on the Catechism; (4) *The Whole Duty of Man by Way of Question and Answer*; (5) Dyche's spelling books; (6) and a never ending request for Bibles, Common Prayers, Catechisms, and Hornbooks. From 1702 to 1741, ten thousand Bibles and Common Prayers, and a hundred thousand small Tracts were distributed by the Society. See the statement made in 1741 by Bishop Secker, in C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, p. 8; for a list of books distributed and translations of the Bible, Catechism, Liturgy, etc., see *ibid.*, pp. 798-816a. A list of books found in a missionary's library can be found in a letter from R. Maule to John Chamberlayne, Charleston, S. C., November 28, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A3, No. CLXXXV, also see a list of books available for the Society's schools in William Webb Kemp, *Support of Schools in Colonial New York*, pp.

regime of ample literature and instruction, Mr. Charlton emphasized that the spiritual knowledge of some of his Negroes, was such “. . . as might make many white people (who have had more happy opportunities of instruction) blush, were they present at their examination.”⁸¹

Mr. Vesey praised Mr. Charlton in several letters to the Society, saying that Charlton was “. . . very Diligent in his Business and takes Effectual Care that the Society's Bounty towards him Shall not be ill Bestowed.”⁸² And Mr. Charlton, in turn, wrote to the Society that his Negroes not only improved in knowledge but also reduced it to practice, which was remarkable because there was at this time, as might well be expected, much “immorality” among the black men.⁸³ From November 11, 1740, to June 18, 1741, he baptized five adult Negroes and thirteen children,⁸⁴ and from June to October 26, 1741, seventeen more were baptized.⁸⁵ He hoped that by Christmas, 1741, five or six more Negroes would be qualified for baptism and added,

The Num^r of my Friday Catechumens exceed 90, and y^t of the Negroes is above 70: and I do believe it wold [sic] have been greater by this time, had not that wicked plott (w^{ch} no doubt y^u have heard of) been set on foot here— Whence it had it's rise I will not presume to say; but this I can't help declaring, y^t Mr. Whitefield's letter to the people of Maryland . . . gave great countenance to it, and I am Satisfied, y^t whoever carefully reads it will join in opinion wth me: not that I sho'd think Mr. Whitefield to be so extremly wicked as to promote destruction of this City, wth it's inhabitants: but the misfortune was y^t imprudence & indiscretion directed his pen, when he wrote that letter. . . .⁸⁶

24-25; and for translations of the Bible into the Mohawk language see David Humphreys, *Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, (1730) pp. 302-303.

⁸¹Richard Charlton to [Philip Bearcroft], New York, November 11, 1740, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B7, pt. II, p. 107; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), VIII, March 20, 1740/1741.

⁸²William Vesey to [Secretary], New York, December 1, 1739, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B7, Pt. II, p. 71; see also *ibid.*, *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), VIII, April 18, 1740, and August 17, 1739.

⁸³Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, June 18, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B9, No. 61; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), VIII, October 16, 1741.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, October 30, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B9, No. 62.

⁸⁶Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, October 30, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B9, No. 62; Rev. John Gillies, *Memoirs of the Late Rev. George Whitefield*, revised by Aaron C. Seymour (N. Y. 1835), II, p. 454. No doubt the letter Charlton speaks of was the one Gillies mentions as written on April 18, 1740. He states (p. 454), “This day [April 18, 1740] was published Mr. Whitefield's letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, about their abuse of the poor negroes.”

Mr. Charlton's baptisms continued at a steady pace; nine, between October, 1741, and March, 1742,⁸⁷ ten, between March and September,⁸⁸ thirteen during the next half year,⁸⁹ and three were admitted to communion.⁹⁰ Besides, the catechumens were improving in spiritual knowledge, and the Common Prayer Books were inducing several of them to learn to read. Charlton asked for more Prayer Books, Catechisms, and the Bishop of Man's Essay.

This heartening success temporarily ceased during 1743 and 1744, because of the illness of Mr. Charlton.⁹¹ By March, 1744, he had sufficiently recovered to baptize fourteen Negroes that year, sixteen the next year, when three were admitted to communion.⁹² However, the load was too heavy, and, in 1745, he induced Mr. Joseph Hildreth to assist him. Hildreth early reported forty white children in his school besides twelve Negroes.⁹³ In 1746, his slave attendance had increased to fifteen evening scholars sent him by their masters. These he taught to read the Bible and to sing psalm tunes.⁹⁴ He believed that psalm singing, after catechizing, was a reading aid as well as valuable in enabling the slaves to join and identify themselves with the regular worship. A "pious spirit" combined with an "apparent earnest attention" gave Mr. Charlton the prospect of a "hopeful harvest."⁹⁵ The Negroes, held in slavery, often recently from Africa, in process of learning the English language, and faced with the problems of adapting themselves into the white man's social order, could not always live up to missionary expectancy. And the hard work told on the missionaries. Mr. Charlton became ill again, in 1746,⁹⁶ and asked to be transferred to Staten

⁸⁷Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, March 26, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 67. Two of the Negroes were adults.

⁸⁸Ibid., September 30, 1742, B10, No. 68.

⁸⁹Ibid., March 28, 1743, B11, No. 146.

⁹⁰Ibid., September 30, 1742, B10, No. 68.

⁹¹Mr. Charlton was struck by a fever which kept him confined for five weeks. He wrote that his Negroes showed a deep concern for him. See Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, September 30, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B11, No. 147.

⁹²Richard Charlton to [Secretary], New York, September 30, 1745, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B14, p. 104.

⁹³Joseph Hildreth to [Secretary], New York, November 21, 1745, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, No. 221; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), X, March 21, 1745/1746.

⁹⁴Joseph Hildreth to [Secretary], New York, March 29, 1745/46 in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), X, September 19, 1746. Mr. Hildreth asked for an addition to his salary of £10 per year. Five pounds additional was granted.

⁹⁵Richard Charlton to [Philip Bearcroft], New York, July 14, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B14, p. 103.

⁹⁶Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, September 29, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B14, p. 107. Mr. Charlton wrote, "To my great misfortune I have been greatly afflicted with an exquisite pain in the Small of my back (where the grand seat of pains was in my late disorder) but yet thank God I can in some measure relieve it by sitting."

Island to the position formerly held by the Rev. Richard Caner, who had died of smallpox.⁹⁷ This request was granted.⁹⁸

On July 1, 1747, the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty petitioned the Society for the position of catechist at New York,⁹⁹ was accepted, and arrived in New York, in January, 1748, where he found the slaves well instructed. In August, he wrote to the Society,

This is . . . to inform you y^t I now constantly every Friday read a Lecture, after w^{ch} I Catechise y^e Children; the Slaves not being able to attend on any Day but Sunday. It's with the greatest pleasure, y^t I can now acquaint you, y^t several of my black Catechumens make no small proficiency in the Christian Religion, & y^t the Number of y^m increases. I have baptized since my arrival here Five full grown Blacks, & at least Thirty Infants, & have now several Adults preparing, themselves for Baptism. . . .¹⁰⁰

Mr. Hildreth continued his instructions under Auchmuty's supervision and reported a class of twenty Negroes, whom he taught in the evenings. Besides his school he stated, there were ". . . 1 Lattin, 1 French, 1 Dutch, & 8 English schools in New York."¹⁰¹ A new school house was built by the parishioners of New York for the teacher,¹⁰² but the year after its completion, it was completely destroyed by fire.¹⁰³

Two years later, in 1750, Mr. Auchmuty reported his success,

Since my last [December 1749] I have baptized about twenty-five negro infants, and eight adults, and can with truth assure you that my black catechumens daily increase, and seem to be fonder of becoming Christians than they were when I first came among them. I must also acquaint you that the Masters of the slaves in this place have also become more desirous than they used to be, to have their servants baptized,

⁹⁷Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 17, 1746, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B14, p. 109.

⁹⁸*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, March 20, 1746/1747.

⁹⁹Samuel Auchmuty to [Secretary], London, July 1, 1747, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, July 17, 1747. Mr. Auchmuty was born in Boston, educated at Harvard, and ordained by the Bishop of London in 1747. He was the son of Robert Auchmuty, Judge of the Court of Admiralty at Boston.

¹⁰⁰Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, August 22, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B16, No. 59; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, November 18, 1748.

¹⁰¹Joseph Hildreth to Philip Bearcroft, New York, March 26, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B16, No. 44; see also *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, July 15, 1748.

¹⁰²Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 30, 1749, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B17, No. 116; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, March 16, 1749/1750.

¹⁰³Joseph Hildreth to [Secretary], New York, April 6, 1750, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, July 20, 1750.

and instructed in the principles of our most holy religion. I, for my part, shall do whatever I can to promote Christianity among them. . . .¹⁰⁴

The much needed school was rebuilt, thirty black scholars¹⁰⁵ usually attended, and Mr. Hildreth taught psalm tunes to at least twenty Negroes every evening.¹⁰⁶

In October, 1751, Mr. Auchmuty again reviewed his work in a report, stating,

Agreeable to my inclination, as well as my duty, I now readily embrace this opportunity of acquainting you with the present state of my black catechumens. The number of those who are arrived to manhood are not so numerous as those who are about the age of fourteen or under. Most of the former (to the number of forty or more) are well acquainted with the principles of our most Holy Religion, and a good number of them, I have the pleasure to see, lead lives agreeable thereto. Some few of them are communicants. The latter seem to promise well, being pretty well acquainted with their catechism, owing in a great measure to the care and piety of their respective masters and mistresses. I constantly attend both great and small, every Lord's Day unless unavoidable prevented, and not only heard them repeat their catechism, but also I endeavour to make them sensible of the true meaning of every question, which naturally opens and discovers to them the Christian scheme, and the Duty and Obligation they are under to live as Christians. Besides catechizing the blacks, I have attending at the same time a number of white children, seldom less than sixty or seventy, which with my black catechumens make up a congregation of one hundred and thirty, sometimes more. . . . I have now two negro adults preparing themselves for the Communion, and I trust in God, before long, will be worth[y] communicants. From the second of October 1750, (the date of my letter in the last abstracts) to the second of October 1751, I have baptized sixteen black adults, all well instructed in the principles of our most Holy Religion and constant attendants on Divine Service and catechizing. Also thirty-nine black infants.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Samuel Auchmuty to [Philip Bearcroft], New York, October 2, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, No. 98; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XI, January 18, 1750/1751.

¹⁰⁵Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 28, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, No. 99. Mr. Auchmuty stated that he had no place to teach school except in the Church.

¹⁰⁶Joseph Hildreth to Philip Bearcroft, New York, March 28, 1751, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B19, No. 68; see also B19, No. 70; B20, No. 58 (April 10, 1752); and B20, No. 59 (October 28, 1752).

¹⁰⁷Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, October 2, 1751, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B20, No. 52; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XII, February 21, 1752.

During the winter of 1751-1752, his black catechumens suffered the usual seasonal decline, intensified by the missionary's illness.¹⁰⁸ In the following year, 1753, his black scholars numbered sixty, and from July, 1752, to January, 1753, twenty-four children and six adults were baptized,¹⁰⁹ and in the first six months of 1753, fifty Negro infants, and twelve adults were baptized.¹¹⁰ The black catechumens had been divided by Mr. Auchmuty into two classes, one of which learned Lewis' *Exposition*, and the other the Catechism itself. Many of the Negroes could read very well, and attended Divine Service regularly and used their Prayer Books.¹¹¹ His baptisms from January, 1756, to July, 1759, included one hundred and thirty-four children and seven adults.¹¹² Mr. Auchmuty was pleased with his Negroes' piety and intelligence. He wrote to the Society, on January 2, 1762, in this optimistic vein,

In my last, I acquainted you that I had two black catechumens preparing themselves to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; Since which, with great satisfaction, I have admitted them to the Holy Table; their characters being unexceptionable, and their knowledge of our most holy religion, and their duty, very considerable for people of their colour. They read well. I have also admitted a negro man to the communion, that was recommended to me, after finding his character and proficiency in the principles of our most holy religion, joined with an eager desire to fulfill the injunction of our blessed redeemer, such as I could wish or expect. The good pleasure these blacks afford me, is still augmented by the prospect I have of soon admitting two more to the Table of the Lord. They are two women of unexceptionable character, at present under instruction, read well, are very desirous of tasting the heavenly feast.

Since the date of my last, I have baptized 25 negro children and three adults, and have three more under my care preparing for baptism.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, March 26, 1752, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B20, No. 56; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XII, July 17, 1752. Auchmuty had a severe cold which kept him from his duties for several weeks.

¹⁰⁹Samuel Auchmuty to [Secretary], January 6, 1753, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XII, April 19, 1753.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, November 23, 1753, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XII, February 15, 1754.

¹¹¹Samuel Auchmuty to [Secretary], New York, July 3, 1756, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIII, December 17, 1756.

¹¹²From January, 1756, to July, 1756, 35 children and one adult were baptized; from July to December, 1756, 25 children and one adult baptized; from December, 1756, to June, 1757, 36 children and 2 adults baptized, and from July, 1758, to July, 1759, 38 children and three adults were baptized, also one mulatto woman slave was admitted to communion.

¹¹³Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, January 2, 1762, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 3.

These religious and educational activities, the modern equivalent of evening schools for working people, were carried on as voluntary enterprises. The teachers had no powers of compulsion and the pupils were usually living in a state of slavery.

In September, 1760, the educational facilities in New York City were enlarged through the establishment of a Negro school by The Bray Associates.¹¹⁴ "The most significant result," as stated by William Webb Kemp in his *Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S.P.G.*, "was the division of the instruction between this new enterprise and the catechist. Thereafter the Negro catechumens were assembled for the usual service and catechetical exercises. To the school was assigned the work related to lay instruction."¹¹⁵ Mr. Auchmuty described his relation with the new Negro school to Secretary Bearcroft,

. . . I have had a considerable addition of young catechumens from our negro school.

This school was begun on the desire and expence of the Associates of the late Dr. Bray. It was opened on the 22^d day of September, 1760, and in a little better than four months was completely full, and so continues to this day. The number is limited to thirty; though double that number, at least, have requested to be admitted. The necessity and usefulness of such a school, being already seen, by many pious owners of young slaves. Prompted by duty and inclination, and requested by the Associates, I frequently visit the school, hear the scholars read, say their prayers, and catechise, and give them such instruction and advice, as they require. Besides this I order them to attend my lectures constantly on the Lord's Day, and catechise them and the adults together, by which means, I hope, as they grow up, to perfect them in the great and important doctrines of our most holy religion, and to lead them, by the blessing of God, upon my poor endeavors, to happiness hereafter, I must confess I can't help being very sanguine in my expectation from this little flock, as they are early instructed in their duty to God and man. They have already made a very considerable progress in sewing, knitting, reading, etc., and will I make no doubt, with proper management, and care, answer the truly pious designs of the worthy Associates.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴An article on the Bray Associates by the Rev. Edgar Legare Pennington is soon to appear in the next issue of the *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*.

¹¹⁵William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, p. 253.

¹¹⁶Samuel Auchmuty to Philip Bearcroft, New York, September 19, 1761, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 2; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, January 15, 1762.

Moreover, the Negroes, in Mr. Auchmuty's charge were making progress. Between sixty and seventy were in constant attendance. Even those who could not read paid strict attention to his lectures on the catechism. During a sixteen month period, he had admitted three adults to Communion and baptized nine adults and ninety-nine children.¹¹⁷

Mr. Auchmuty, from time to time, reported progress,

My number of black catechumens is increased, and many of them are serious, well-disposed people and communicants. By all that I can learn they are in general exemplary in their conduct and behaviour. It affords me no small pleasure to reflect that not one single black that has been admitted by me to the Holy Communion, has turned out bad; or been in any shape, a disgrace to our holy profession.

Since my last I have baptized four adults, after previous instruction; and thirty-five infants. I have also admitted one man, and one woman to the Holy Communion. There are two more preparing for that sacred ordinance.¹¹⁸

Mr. Auchmuty's success pointed him out for clerical advancement, and, when Dr. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, died in August, 1764, he was chosen by the Vestry to fill the vacancy, and resigned as Negro catechist. The Rev. Charles Inglis, missionary at Dover, Delaware (1759-1765), was chosen as his assistant.¹¹⁹ The work of catechizing the Negroes was given temporarily to Mr. Ogilvie.¹²⁰ Concurrently, the Negro School of the Bray associates was thriving, constantly aided by the Society's catechist. The school in Mr. Auchmuty's opinion, would always need inspection and supervision. Constant pressure on masters and slaves was necessary to keep the work

¹¹⁷Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, June 29, 1762, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 4; *ibid.*, March 30, 1763, B2, No. 5.

¹¹⁸Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, March 29, 1764, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 6a; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XVI, July 20, 1764.

¹¹⁹Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, September 10, 1764, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 8; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XVI, November 16, 1764. Charles Inglis was missionary for Dover 1759-1765, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, 1777-1783, and in 1787 went to Nova Scotia as the first colonial bishop. For an excellent study of the Rev. Mr. Inglis see John Wolfe Lydekker, *Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*.

¹²⁰Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, April 13, 1765, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 9. Although the MSS. spells the temporary catechist's name as Ogilvie, and does not give his Christian name, no doubt this is the Rev. John Ogilvie, S. P. G. missionary to the Albany and Fort Hunter Indians, 1749-1762. In 1759, he went as chaplain to the Royal American Regiment in the British expedition to Niagara. In 1763, Ogilvie was appointed senior assistant curate to Dr. Auchmuty at Trinity Church, New York. See John Wolfe Lydekker, *Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, pp. 72 (footnote 3), 91.

going. Trinity Church, in debt for the large sum of £10,000, could as yet give no adequate local aid.¹²¹ The Society reluctantly, after several pleas, agreed to contribute £10 per annum.¹²² Mr. Joseph Hildreth, already familiar with the work, as he had been schoolmaster for several years, was appointed.¹²³ Mr. Auchmuty asked for Bibles, Prayer Books, and Tracts, the only texts for the use of the slaves. It is difficult for the modern reader to visualize the school of the mid-eighteenth century when the rich equipment of texts, maps, carefully devised curricula for the use of skilled teachers was largely unknown. He wrote gratefully to the Society,

You will be so good as to return my sincere thanks to the Society for appointing a catechist to the poor Negroes in this city, whose hearts are filled with gratitude upon the occasion. The Catechist has entered upon his office. I have attended him, and have classed them in such a manner as will render his business easy to himself, and useful to the catechumens. The numbers that attend exceed two hundred. I will have a complete list made out, of their names, etc., with a list also of the communicants and send them to you by the first good opportunity. You may be assured that I have their eternal interest so much at heart that I shall visit them almost every Sunday. If prevented by other avocations, I will take care that one of my assistants supply my place.¹²⁴

Mr. Hildreth explained his methods to the Society,

As to my negro catechumens, about a hundred adults be [sides] children give constant attention every Sunday evening after Church, they behave with the utmost decency, and are fond of instruction. Each of the ministers have visited this little Society, and favoured them with a lecture; but the duty of this Parish is so great that it can but seldom be expected from them. However, in order to forward their instruction as much as possible, I am going through Dr. Bray's catechetical lectures; as they are short I can read one each evening (in absence of the minister) after catechise, and so conclude with

¹²¹Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, April 13, 1765, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 9; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVI, July 19, 1765.

¹²²Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, January 30, 1770, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 35; see also *ibid.*, August 16, 1770, B2, No. 37. Mr. Auchmuty said his and his assistant's duties were too numerous to include the instruction of the Negroes.

¹²³*Ibid.*, April 25, 1771, B2, No. 39.

¹²⁴Samuel Auchmuty to Daniel Burton, New York, April 25, 1771, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B2, No. 39; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, July 19, 1771.

the post Communion Prayers, general thanksgiving, and *singing* a Psalm.¹²⁵

In 1773, Hildreth's catechumens numbered about 100, who attended the schoolroom on Sunday evenings and behaved "with utmost decency and attention." He, like his predecessor, formed two classes, one to learn Lewis' *Exposition* and the other the Church Catechism. He usually read one of Archbishop Secker's lectures to the Negroes and concluded with prayers and the singing of a Psalm.¹²⁶ The catechumens, he felt, were sincere Christians, but, by 1776, his catechumens were diminishing, due of course to the upheaval of the American Revolution. He told sadly of the shutting of the Church after the Declaration of Independence, of the Loyalists leaving the city to prevent their arrest, and the burning of part of the city causing the loss of ". . . our ancient, beautiful Parish Church, the Parsonage, and schoolhouse. So rapid and violent were the flames that nothing could be saved out of either."¹²⁷ To New York City, as to other parts of the Colonies, ideas and institutions had come and adapted themselves, so that the War, with its destructive effects, produced merely temporary interruptions in Negro Christianization and education.

II. IN TOWNS AND RURAL AREAS

Turning now to towns and rural areas and their beginnings earlier in the century, it is to be remembered that the Society was giving close attention to Negro education outside of New York City. Missionary and schoolmaster were active in the smaller communities of the colony. As early as 1722, Mr. Charles Taylor, of Richmond County, wrote to the Society,

I presume by these to inform you that I have kept school last year in the south precinct of this county and taught 48 scholars and 6 negros. The most of them I teach to write and cipher. I teach all of them the Church catechism with the explanation thereof and to bear a part in the public worship. I have taught several of them upon account of the venerable Society's bounty without any other consideration and upon the same account I keep night school for teaching of negros and of such as cannot be spared from their work in the daytime.

¹²⁵Joseph Hildreth to Daniel Burton, New York, October 17, 1772, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 168; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, December 18, 1772.

¹²⁶Joseph Hildreth to Richard Hind, New York, November 7, 1773, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 169.

¹²⁷Joseph Hildreth to Richard Hind, New York, October 6, 1776, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 171.

Therefore I make bold to draw for 15 £ sterling as the bounty which the venerable Society is pleased now yearly to bestow for instructing of the poor youth upon this island.¹²⁸

Throughout the century, specific instructions were sent to the missionaries, as to the education of the Negroes, of which a letter written by Secretary David Humphreys, on July 30, 1725, is a forceful example,

It has been intimated to the Society that proper care hath not been taken to instruct in the Christian religion and baptize the negroes in the plantations in America. The Society being desirous so good a work should be promoted as far as possible by them, and apprehending that their missionaries may have some negroes themselves, have directed me to acquaint them, that they do require all their missionaries who have any negroes or other slaves of their own to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion and to baptize them as soon as they are sufficiently instructed and are willing to receive baptism. You will please, sir, to take notice of this particular direction of the Society and also encourage and advise your parishioners who may have negroes to let them be instructed and baptized. The Society have reprinted a sermon preached before them on this head, some copies of which you will receive herewith to be distributed among your parishioners.¹²⁹

The New York missionaries, as did those in the other colonies, noted and made careful replies as to the condition in their respective parishes. And besides, they were often convinced that the Society did not understand the obstacles of Christianizing Negroes in slavery. The Rev. John Bartow analyzed his situation in Westchester clearly,

. . . return the Society my humble thanks [for books sent] begging leave to answer that I cannot be very zealous to baptize slaves because I know they will not or cannot live up to the Christian covenant in one notorious instant at least, viz. matrimony, for they marry after their heathen way and divorce and take others as often as they please, and Christian baptism cannot [be consistent] with adultery, and should we marry them I fear they would do the same unless there were a law

¹²⁸Charles Taylor to David Humphreys, Richmond county, New York, March 8, 1722, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A16, pp. 216-217; see also *ibid.*, A17, p. 220. The statements made in this letter were certified by the minister in the county.

¹²⁹David Humphreys to all missionaries, London, July 30, 1725, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A19, p. 113. A comprehensive analysis of the humanitarian and other ideas contained in the *Annual Sermons* preached before the Society is to be presented separately from this study. The Sermon was often printed with the *Abstracts of Proceedings* for the previous year, and, an almost complete file of these valuable works, beginning in 1701, can be found in the Huntington Library, and the Library of Congress.

to restrain. But against our marrying them the masters will object and say it is not lawful to part man and wife, and how can we sell one of them? This will be a hard obligation upon us to sell both to our detriment. I never knew but one couple that were married by the Society's missionary, Mr. Brooks, and afterwards their master George Willocks of Amboy, had occasion to sell one and because he would not part man and wife, he sent both to be sold at York, and soon after the man ran away and forever foresook his wife.

My negro man who was baptized by me and can read English had got a trick of marrying slaves with the office in the Common Prayer Book, and I forbade him because it was a desecration of the Holy rite. This shows that they are ambitious of being as free, but I fear their freedom would be unsafe and dangerous as well as very chargeable to the inhabitants.

I do assure the Society I have been and am willing and ready to baptise such slaves as confess the faith and desire baptism as also instruct and inform any that come to me, but to follow them about my parish I have neither will nor ability. Our Churches are open in time of Divine Service and no prohibition to them to come in. . . .¹³⁰

The Rev. William Vesey acknowledged the frequent instructions from the Society and with other missionaries stated that he heartily wished the masters would comply with the Society's pious designs as regards the Negroes, but a great many Negroes in New York never even came near the catechist or missionaries, although they pursued their offices with the utmost care and diligence.¹³¹

One of the most penetrating letters again analyzing the problem of Negro Christianization from the standpoint of the Anglican, was written by the Rev. Robert Jenney,¹³² stationed at Rye and Hempsted. It is worth quoting at length, as illustrative of the careful details furnished in the reports:

It has always been my practice to use all proper motives I can think of, to bring my own negro slaves to a regular practice of the moral duties, in which most of their colour are very loose, but without which I cannot conceive that they have any title to Church membership, nor consequently to bap-

¹³⁰John Bartow to David Humphreys, Westchester, November 15, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B1, No. 81. See also H. T. Catterall, (Ed.), *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, Indices*, see "Christianization."

¹³¹William Vesey to David Humphreys, New York, November 18, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B1, No. 79.

¹³²Robert Jenney later became the Bishop of London's Commissary in Pennsylvania, and Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He had been an S. P. G. missionary in Philadelphia before coming to New York. Mr. Jenney died on January 5, 1762.

tism. My negroes are two adults and one child; of which adults one is a young man, the other a woman, mother to the child. Her husband lives in the city of New York by whom she has had four children, of which only one lives now. These I oblige constantly to be present at our family devotion; and the two adults to attend public service of the Church by turns, and to take the child along with them, as often as the weather is sufficiently moderate for her tender age to bear. This I do try whether good influence our own and the practice of others will have upon them, to bring them not only to the knowledge, but also the practise of religious duties. But all this together with my private instruction in the family, have not had so good success as to influence me to give them the benefit of baptism as yet, but as to the children of unbelieving parents, I have always been of opinion that they ought to be baptized, provided their masters and mistresses will engage for them, which is my practice in my family. My negro woman's first child was baptized by Mr. Poyer and died about seven months after; the second and fourth died suddenly when I was from home so as to prevent their being baptised. The surviving one it was always and is yet my design to have baptised, whensoever any clergyman passes this way; for because my wife and I stand sureties, I think it not so regular to perform the office myself.

I am so particular in relation to my own family that the Venerable Society may be satisfied, that I have not been altogether negligent in my duty in this particular, which gives me the satisfaction to believe that, whosoever the informer may be, he had no eye to me in his information against the missionaries of the neglect of their duty to instruct and baptise their negro and Indian slaves.

As to my parish, there are very few slaves in it, and the people generally so poor that they are not able to purchase any; and amongst the few that we have, I know of no more than two (both men) that are baptized; one an old man belonging to the estate of Coll. Heathcote, deceased; the other a middle aged man belonging to a miller [may be Miller] in this town, both of them sober, honest men, who as far as I can learn do live up to their profession. In those that have negroes I find little or no disposition to have them baptized; but on the contrary an aversion to it, in some, and in most an indifference. Some are so profane as to say that they do not think that baptism will be of any service to them, and there are many that think it does them hurt by giving them better notions of themselves than is consistent with their state of slavery and their duty to their masters. And notwithstanding the unreasonableness of this notion, yet all that I or any man can say against it will not prevail upon them to remit anything of their obstinacy in defending an opinion which they think can be evidently proven by experience. And this af-

fair is still the harder to be managed, because our best people have either no slave at all, or not above one or two at the most. Those therefore with whom I am generally to treat upon this subject having (if any) a very superficial sense of the obligation to religious duties, are not easily influenced by arguments drawn from religious topics.

But after all, as no negroes or other slaves have offered themselves for baptism since I have been engaged in this parish, yet if any should, I cannot but profess that I find myself entangled in two considerable difficulties; the first relating to their sureties; there are scarce any masters or mistresses, if they are willing that their slaves be baptised, that will be prevailed with to engage for them as their sureties, much less will Christian freeman engage for slaves and whether or not it would be proper to accept of those who are not masters of themselves as sureties for others I leave to the determination of my superiors, for my part I cannot but help thinking it improper, though I confess it is practiced in these parts, so that we the ministers are entangled in this inevitable dilemma; either we must refuse baptism to slaves that deserve it; and this is uncharitable, or accept the surety of slaves for slaves, which most of us think improper.

The other difficulty relates to their marriages, arising from their irregularities therein, and some circumstances which make it almost impossible that they can be joined together till death parts them. Their irregularities arise from an opinion, almost natural to them, that they can change their wives upon every disgust. And if any of them are weaned from that wicked custom, yet it is not marrying free from difficulties and inconveniences, whether they are both in the same or different families. If Christian persons live together as man and wife without marriage, they live in fornication, and if they are married they must not be parted, for whom God hath joined together let No man put assunder. Hence it will follow that if both parties are in the same family the Master lies under an obligation either to keep both or sell both, let his necessities be ever so pressing, which often obliges men to sell one when the other cannot be spared. And if they are in different families (as is most usual) then the removal of one of the family to a different part of the country at some considerable distance is a parting of man and wife. This is the case with my negro woman, and I find it a very difficult thing, almost impossible, to keep them faithful at any considerable distance from one another.¹³³

¹³³Robert Jenney to David Humphreys, Rye, November 19, 1725, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 78. As Mrs. Catterall pointed out in her volumes, marriage under slavery, at least in its early stages, could not take place legally, and the judicial complexities that arose were almost infinite in their variety. While the *S. P. G.* worked for baptism and communion as first objectives, the other sacraments would eventually follow, including that of marriage. In short, Christianization was a many headed enemy of slavery. One opinion given by Mrs.

Jenney concludes by saying that he does not mention these difficulties as reasons or excuses for his small success in coping with the problem but that the Society might note the facts and advise him.

When Mr. Jenney was transferred to Hempsted, his new parish contained many Negroes.¹³⁴ In May, 1727, he reported the baptism of one negro infant, owned by himself, and the admittance of a Negro slave to communion.¹³⁵ Yet Mr. Jenney found the Negroes so scattered that it was all but impossible to instruct them. At Oyster Bay, where he preached every third Sunday, he recommended the appointment of Mr. Daniel Denton as schoolmaster.¹³⁶ The latter reported within a year that he had taught three Negroes to read and repeat the Church Catechism.¹³⁷

A further rapid roll of other centers of Negro work, outside of New York City, shows that S. P. G. determination and methods of procedure were yielding results, whatever the obstacles. Each parish is to be regarded as an experiment station in which tests of the Negro's ability and willingness to learn to read, write, and understand the fundamentals of Christian practice were made; the cooperation of the masters was to be gained, as well as that of other leaders of opinion; all were witness to the fact that the Negro had won the right to religious instruction. The reports went back to London where the trustees of the Society were themselves receiving a liberal education through this research into

Catterall must suffice, IV, 46-47, December, 1767, from the Maryland records: "I adopt the rule of the civil law . . . that slaves are incapable of marriage, . . . slaves are bound by our animal laws generally, yet we do not consider them as objects of such laws as relate to the commerce between the sexes. A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery; never prosecuted for bigamy or petty treason, for killing a husband, being a slave. . . . In consequence of my opinion, that slaves are incapable of civil marriage, I consider A. and C. in the light of bastards, and therefore conclude that the lands of A. are escheatable, . . . A. and C. had no civil capacities to take by purchase, or to take or transmit by descent, whilst in their original state of slavery." When gradual emancipation became the policy of the British Anti-Slavery party and of the British government in 1823 and 1824, the legalization and protection of marriage and the prevention in the sale of slaves, of the separation of husband and wife, and of infant children from the mother, were adopted as a program. See Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 213-214.

¹³⁴The number of Negroes and slaves totaled 116 men, 76 women, 76 boys, and 51 girls. And in Oyster Bay, where Mr. Jenney preached off and on, there were 41 men, 27 women, 17 boys, and 26 girls. See Robert Jenney to David Humphreys, Hempsted, June 27, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A21, p. 343.

¹³⁵Robert Jenney to David Humphreys, Hempsted, May 1, 1727, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A20, p. 183. The slave had been baptized years before by Mr. Thomas and had all along been known for piety and honesty.

¹³⁶Robert Jenney to [Secretary], Hempsted, July 21, 1726, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), V, September 16, 1726. Mr. Denton's salary was £10 per year.

¹³⁷Daniel Benton to David Humphreys, Oyster Bay, October 17, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A21, p. 363.

the problems of and results from this directed contact with "native peoples."

Another worker, the Rev. Thomas Standard, of Brookhaven, Long Island, was as discouraged by the difficulties of Negro instruction under slavery as was Mr. Jenney. He replied, too, to David Humphrey's exhortation that the masters were adverse to education of any kind, largely on account of the insurrection which occurred 14 years before in New York City in 1712.¹³⁸ Furthermore, he stated, he

. . . had almost forgot one thing which however is of great moment in this case, and it is this, that few of them are capable of being instructed. I have now two negroes . . . one of which is a girl of about nine years . . . whom I have had above a twelve month, and have during that time several times attempted to teach her to read, but cannot yet make her to know her alphabet, nor have all the endeavours hitherto used with her, which have not been inconsiderable, been sufficient to make her to number ten, tho' she was born in this country. Nor can a fellow that is at least 20 whom I have lately bought, tho' he hath been seven years in this country count up that number. . . .

I have in obedience . . . publicly exhorted those that have negroes to instruct them . . . and have offered my assistance therein, but . . . with little success.¹³⁹

Statements from other parishes regarding Negro instruction were more encouraging. In 1733, the schoolmaster at Oyster Bay, Thomas Keble, reported thirty scholars, four of whom were Negroes, another instance of teaching white and black together. Mr. Keble taught the Negroes without pay, because they were poor. The schoolmaster wrote ". . . I think I answer best the Honourable Society's design, if I have a regard to those who are not able to pay me."¹⁴⁰ In the following year, Mr. Keble's school increased to thirty-one children. The curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Church Catechism.¹⁴¹ He taught the poor whites gratis, his school flourished,

¹³⁸Thomas Standard to David Humphreys, Brookhaven, Long Island, October, 1726, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A19, pp. 404-405. This letter in good part repeats the points in Jenney's letter (Nov. 19, 1725), which states the difficulties encountered in Negro conversion.

¹³⁹Thomas Standard to David Humphreys, W. Chester, New York, November 5, 1729, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 50.

¹⁴⁰Thomas Keble to David Humphreys, Oyster Bay, November 5, 1733, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 10; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, February 15, 1733/[1734].

¹⁴¹Thomas Keble to David Humphreys, Oyster Bay, November 5, 1734, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A25, p. 39; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, January 17, 1734/[1735].

with an enrollment of thirty-seven¹⁴² in 1735, at which level it remained during the next decade. The Negro enrollments, however, were small.¹⁴³

Another schoolmaster, Mr. Edward Davies of Southampton, on the island of Nassau, mentioned that he was teaching all the Negroes and Indians that were "inclinable to come." He taught at night because the masters kept the slaves at work during the day.¹⁴⁴ His difficulties were recounted in a letter of November 12, 1734,

The number of negroes and Indians I instructed last winter from October to the middle of March were from ten to twenty, and some times more, as they could spare them, and as the weather would admit, they living a great distance from the school. (Please to note) I am obliged to teach them in the night, that is from sunset to nine o'clock in the night, they being confined all the day to their labour. Neither can they come any other time in the year, but in the winter, their Masters confining them close to labour.

I have with a great deal of difficulty and pains, learned some to spell, some to read, and some to write. Most are grown to mens years. I am now preparing to instruct them, this winter, and hope to make . . . a greater progress than last, they having some notion of their books now, but the last year very few of them knew anything.¹⁴⁵

Another worker, the Rev. William Harrison, missionary at Staten Island, taught the Negroes after the Sunday service, along with this other work, and baptized, in November, 1735, two adult Negroes and three Negro children.¹⁴⁶

In comparing the Negro's capacity with other immigration groups, and considering his status as a slave, and the illiteracy of the age among white men in the colonies and in England, the response of the

¹⁴²Thomas Keble to [Secretary], Oyster Bay, New York, November 24, 1735, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, April 16, 1736.

¹⁴³Thomas Keble to [Philip Bearcroft], Oyster Bay, June 23, 1744, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B13, p. 322; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IX, January 18, 1744/1745.

¹⁴⁴Edward Davies to David Humphreys, Southampton, November 6, 1733, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 9. Mr. Davies requested stitched catechisms, Lewis's exposition of the catechism, and Dyches spelling books.

¹⁴⁵Edward Davies to David Humphreys, Southton, [sic], New York, November 12, 1734, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A25, p. 49; see also the certificate of Mr. Davies' teaching in A25, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶William Harrison to [Secretary], Staten Island, November 20, 1735, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, April 16, 1736.

slaves is surprising.¹⁴⁷ In 1742, this parish of Staten Island had a population of about 1,540 whites and 349 Negroes.¹⁴⁸ Mr. Harrison's successor, the Rev. Jonathan Arnold, baptized between four and ten Negroes annually.¹⁴⁹ A Mr. Charles Taylor aided him as a schoolmaster, giving instruction to Negroes and whites in the same school.¹⁵⁰ Mr. Arnold, in turn, was succeeded by the Rev. Richard Charlton, who remained in this mission for thirty years, from 1747 to 1777. An enthusiastic worker, in his first letter he reported the baptism of nine infant and six adult Negroes, in addition to accepting two communicants.¹⁵¹ About two years later, in September, 1749, he reported the baptism of five Negro children, the regular examination of twenty Negro catechumens immediately after prayers on Sundays, followed by a catechetical lecture on Sunday afternoons. Here, as elsewhere, when given a fair chance, the slaves learned rapidly. Many of them could repeat the Catechism from memory, and some could give a "tolerable exposition" of several of its parts.¹⁵² During the winter, however, Mr. Charlton was obliged to discontinue his instruction on account of bad weather, bad roads, and long distances, which kept the Negroes away. The schoolteacher, however, Mr. Nicholas Barrington, instructed those

¹⁴⁷Two studies on Negro education may be of comparative value, one of which was the Codrington enterprise of the S. P. G. in Barbados, a pioneering Protestant experiment, beginning in 1710 and carried on into our own time; and the other, an interdenominational activity based on The Lady Mico Charity. See two articles by Frank J. Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington" in *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII, No. 4, October, 1938, pp. 451-486, and "The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies, 1835-1842" in *ibid.*, XXIV, No. 3, July, 1939, pp. 291-344. See also M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement; A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action*, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 446 pp., 1938.

¹⁴⁸Jonathan Arnold to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, June 18, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 81; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IX, December 17, 1742.

¹⁴⁹In November, 1742, Arnold reported the baptism of six Negroes; in July, 1743, ten Negroes were baptized; November, 1743, two more were baptized, and in 1744, the same number is recorded. See letters of Jonathan Arnold to Secretary, Staten Island, November 10, 1742, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IX, April 15, 1745; *ibid.*, July 19, 1743, in IX, October 21, 1743, in IX, October 21, 1743; *ibid.*, November 1, 1743, in IX, May 18, 1744; *ibid.*, March 25, 1743/44, in IX, September 21, 1744; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B11, Nos. 148, 149, and B13, p. 304.

¹⁵⁰Charles Taylor passed away on May 27, 1742, and was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Wright, see *Petition of the Minister, Church Wardens, & Vestrymen of St. Andrew's Parish to the Society, Staten Island, New York*, June 5, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 83. For the work of Taylor in Richmond County see S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, Pt. II, p. 150.

¹⁵¹Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, March 26, 1747, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B15, fo. 77 (duplicate); *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), X, August 21, 1747.

¹⁵²Richard Charlton to [Secretary], Staten Island, September 30, 1749, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), December 15, 1749.

Negroes who could go to his home, so that those receiving instruction varied from about nine to twenty according to the season.¹⁵³

Mr. Charlton's methods of religious instruction and the resultant successes brought constant and uniform results. On Sundays in spring and summer he examined two groups of catechumens, one out of Lewis's *Exposition of the Church Catechism* in the presence of the congregation immediately after the sermon in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon, combining the Negroes and whites, to whom he gave a lecture.¹⁵⁴ In September, 1751, he wrote to the Secretary,

I have great satisfaction in informing the Venerable Society that my catechumens improve in spiritual knowledge, and I find that amongst others, who do not answer, their serious behavior has produced most happy effects, a spirit of devotion prevailing in general amongst them.

My negro catechumens have exceeded my expectation: and unless God had been pleased in an extraordinary manner to bless our endeavors, I could not have hoped for so plentiful an harvest.

Since my last I have admitted three of 'em, after full instruction, to baptism, and have several more who now stand candidates for that Holy Ordinance.¹⁵⁵

Mr. Charlton found that the plain explanation of the Catechism which he gave the Negroes suited the uncultivated minds of some whites.¹⁵⁶ The Society's work among white colonists cannot be entered upon here, but it may be stated, in passing, that illiteracy was the common lot of many poor people both in Great Britain and the United States until well into the nineteenth century. At times smallpox crippled Charlton's activities.¹⁵⁷ In 1760, there were 300 cases on the Island, among them, Mr. Price, the schoolmaster.¹⁵⁸ Mr. Charlton reported that,

¹⁵³Richard Charlton to [Secretary], Staten Island, March 26, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, No. 115; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XI, July 20, 1750; Nicholas Barrington to [Secretary], Staten Island, New York, March 26, 1750, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XI, September 21, 1750. In 1752, the number of Negroes remained the same, see Barrington to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, March 31, 1752, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B20, No. 72; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), October 20, 1752.

¹⁵⁴Richard Charlton to [Philip Bearcroft], Staten Island, September 30, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, No. 116; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XI, February 15, 1750/1751.

¹⁵⁵Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, September 30, 1751, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B19, No. 86.

¹⁵⁶Richard Charlton to [Secretary], Staten Island, New York, October 11, 1753, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XII, January 18, 1754.

¹⁵⁷In the judgment of Mr. Charlton long interruptions were unfortunate, as many of the Negroes had poor memories and forgot from month to month.

¹⁵⁸Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, April 10, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 60. Almost every inhabitant had been ill, this of course thinned his congregation.

Since my last of the 10th April, we have, the 13th ultimo, lost the inoffensive and diligent Mr. Price. The want of his assistance for the present season will be a sensible loss to my catechumens, especially the negros, whose improvements in psalmody must meet with a considerable check and what is yet worse, I have it not in my power to pitch upon one of suitable morals and capacity, that I can recommend to the venerable Society as his successor. I have used my best endeavors to find out John Watts, lately a schoolmaster of good behavior and knowledge in psalmody in this island, whom necessity has drove to go as clerk to a sutler towards Oswego. Were I sure of the honorable Society's appointment and his acceptance, I should not doubt, with God's assistance, of success in the blessed work I have in hand. . . .

I humbly hope, considering circumstances, that my request will not be deemed improper by that Venerable body, which is, that they will be pleased to grant me leave to pitch upon a person to succeed Mr. Price as their schoolmaster in this island.¹⁵⁹

Even with an increase in salary, the new teacher was hard to find and to keep. A present day note was struck when Charlton wrote, ". . . it must be a great misfortune to the employed that when the expenses of living increase, salaries do not on proportion rise."¹⁶⁰ No sooner had Mr. Watts been appointed than the Society received the following news from Charlton,

Did you truly know my situation I am convinced you would pity me. I have, blessed be God, a prospect of doing good; but alas! I am not equal to the task. Mr. Watts whom I recommended to succeed Mr. Price, and with whose assistance I formed the pleasing hopes of the desired success, has deserted me and now my catechumens must suffer not only in the part preparative to my instruction, but in the psalmody also, a part I cannot come up to. I have requested the worthy president of our college, Dr. Johnson, in his tour to New England to make inquiry for a proper person, and I hope he may be able to effect what is not in my power to obtain.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, June 21, 1760, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, No. 61; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, November 21, 1760.

¹⁶⁰Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, December 13, 1760, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, No. 62. The salary was increased £5 per year, see *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, February 19, 1762.

¹⁶¹Richard Charlton to Philip Bearcroft, Staten Island, April 2, 1761, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, No. 63. Dr. Samuel Johnson (1696-1772) had been a missionary for the Society at Stratford, Connecticut, for 32 years (1723-1754) prior to taking up his duties as president of King's College (later Columbia University). Dr. Johnson was a close friend of Dean Berkeley, the English idealist philosopher, and spread the Berkeleyian theories throughout the New England colonies. At the same time, Johnson was leading the Church of England

In 1763, after a two year vacancy and much searching for the proper person, a Mr. Tunis Egbert¹⁶² was appointed, a man of character and the necessary musical ability. He continued with Mr. Charlton for over ten years. Ten years later, Mr. Charlton explained that he encouraged competition and had succeeded in producing "a noble emulation among his Catechumens." He had prevailed upon five men and five women to read an epistle out of the Prayer Book after services. Many of his congregation could not read and he strove to teach the rising generation in this manner. In order to interest them, the best performers were to be rewarded with Prayer Books, and he asked the Society for more books.¹⁶³ Mr. Tunis Egberts, in 1765, wrote to Daniel Burton,

My earnest endeavor is a conscientious discharge of my duty. Every Sunday afternoon when church is over, I teach a number of the Rev. Mr. Charlton's catechumens to sing psalms and do my best to prepare them for his lectures. I hope, as he told me he would shortly write that he will so acquaint the honorable Society of my diligence.¹⁶⁴

An important parish in New York was Hempsted. Here, in 1725, the Rev. Robert Jenney, formerly stationed at Rye, began to work. In 1731, he reported the baptism of nine Negroes, five children and four adults.¹⁶⁵ The usual requests for religious aids followed. Jenney wanted Prayer Books for the Negroes as well as the whites, for many Negroes in his parish could read, use them in Divine Service.¹⁶⁶ Mr. Jenney's baptisms of Negroes averaged two or three annually from 1735 to 1739. In 1740 ten baptisms of Negro children set a record.¹⁶⁷

movement in the northern colonies; he desired to see bishops in the colonies, and took active part in the agitation. See F. B. Chandler, The Life of Samuel Johnson (1805); E. E. Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson (1874), and Herbert and Carol Schneider, Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings, 4 volumes (1929).

¹⁶²See a petition of the parishioners to Charlton, April 15, 1763, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 72; also B3, No. 70.

¹⁶³Richard Charlton to [Secretary], Staten Island, New York, October 15, 1773, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XX, December 17, 1773.

¹⁶⁴Tunis Egberts to Daniel Burton, Staten Island, April 2, 1765, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 77.

¹⁶⁵Robert Jenney to [Secretary], Hempsted, Long Island, July 10, 1731, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, December 17, 1731; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A23, p. 334. Mr. Jenney enclosed in this letter a letter from the people of Oyster Bay, complaining that Mr. Denton, the schoolmaster there, kept a tavern and brewhouse instead of teaching school. Denton was removed.

¹⁶⁶Robert Jenney to [Secretary], Hempsted, July 30, 1735, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, April 16, 1736.

¹⁶⁷Robert Jenney to [Secretary], Hempsted, April 21, 1740, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B7, Pt. II, p. 121; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VIII, September 19, 1740.

Thomas Temple, the schoolmaster at Hempsted, began his work in June, 1741, and, during that summer, he had twenty-six pupils, including four Negroes.¹⁶⁸ Mr. Temple, in his report to the Society, inadvertently emphasized the difficulty of securing well-trained teachers,

. . . this Last Winter At Night School I Taught four Negroes men and one Indian boy with Some others to the the [sic] Number of Ten and this Spring I have Done My Endiver to Seek out for those Children that theire parients are Very poor which I teach Six and Two Negroes Children and One Man and my Number in all his Twenty but I Expect More for they Come daily and Still as it tis my daily prayers for that honorable body of C[harity] humbly begging your prayers that God would give me wisdom and knowledge that I May teach Those which are Committed to my [task] to know god and Jesus Christ one thing more I Crave and that his that I may have the Benefit of the late Bishop fleetwood Sarmon preached in the Year 1711 Concerning y^e Instruct^{on} of Negroes and the present Lord Bishop of London Sermon in the Year 1727 for they are Some here that say that a Negro hath no soul and I shall take abundance of pains to read them amongst them and theire is some Negroe that would learn their Catechism and I did get them from the Rev. Mr. Charlton and I have Distri[buted] of them Abroad among them.¹⁶⁹

During the two following years, 1743,¹⁷⁰ and 1744, Temple taught none "but of poor white children."¹⁷¹

In 1742, during Mr. Temple's tenure as schoolmaster, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Senior, was appointed missionary at Hempsted. He reported several Negro baptisms, two, in March, 1744; four adults, in October, 1744; five children, in March, 1746; one in September of the same year.¹⁷² Seabury asked for copies of the "Reasonable Com-

¹⁶⁸Thomas Temple to Philip Bearcroft, Hempsted, December 14, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 90. He also had taught one Indian to read his Testament.

¹⁶⁹Thomas Temple to [Philip Bearcroft], Hempsted, May 17, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 91; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IX, September 17, 1742; William Fleetwood (Bishop of St. Asaph), *Sermon preached before S. P. G. in St. Mary Le Bow, February, 1711*, pp. 1-34. (Huntington Library.) This Sermon was preached to urge further conversion of Negro slaves. Bishop Fleetwood refuted at length the then common belief that baptism would make slaves free, and states, p. 21, "If therefore it be lawful in our Country, to have or keep any slave at all, it is equally lawful to have or keep them so, tho they are Christians."

¹⁷⁰Thomas Temple to [Philip Bearcroft], Hempsted, Long Island, January 1, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, p. 244.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, June 16, 1774, in B13, p. 246.

¹⁷²See letters of Samuel Seabury to Secretary, Hempsted, March 25, 1743/1744 in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IX, September 21, 1744; October 15, 1744, in X, April 19, 1745; March 26, 1745/46, in XII, October 17, 1746; September 3, 1746, in X, March 20, 1746/47; also S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, p. 237, and B14, p. 132.

municant," Common Prayer Books, and Catechisms with questions and answers, which he thought would be of great use in the instruction of the Negroes. Negro baptisms were made at Hempsted up to the time of the elder Seabury's death in 1764.¹⁷³ His church grew in the presence of many enemies—sectaries and infidels. Originally in charge of Huntington, ten miles from Hempsted, he later gave that work to his son, Samuel Seabury (later Bishop Seabury) whom the Society appointed as catechist with a salary of £10 per year.¹⁷⁴ After Seabury's death, the Hempsted mission was placed in the care of the Rev. Leonard Cutting, who continued the Negro work.¹⁷⁵

As a foundation for discussion and the formation of opinion, it mattered little whether few or many slaves were in the class for instruction. The practice was for the missionary, on entering upon his duties, to invite the masters and mistresses of plantations to send their slaves to him for instruction, to include his own, if he had slaves, to furnish the masters with letters of instruction from the Society, and other literature. It might be said that the missionary publicly featured the progress of the slave in catechism before the congregation. This quiet routine set people thinking. Sources of opposition to slavery developed sufficient strength so that in the decades after the Revolution, the general view that slavery was an evil came to be the attitude of the better planters, even in the South.¹⁷⁶

Again returning to an earlier time to survey the Society's Negro work at Rye, in 1726, the Rev. James Wetmore found one hundred Negroes in that Parish, with the usual encouragement from London and discouragement from the masters.¹⁷⁷ In this parish, the slaves

¹⁷³One Negro adult was baptized in 1748, two children in 1750, and another adult in 1753. See Samuel Seabury to Secretary, Hempsted, [December, 1748] in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XI, February 17, 1748/1749; April 18, 1753, in XII, September 21, 1753; see also S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B18, Nos. 112, 113.

¹⁷⁴Samuel Seabury to [Secretary], Hempsted, September 30, 1748, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XI, February 17, 1748/1749.

¹⁷⁵Leonard Cutting's baptisms were: one adult in 1768, two, in 1771, one, in 1774, one in 1776, one child and one adult woman, in 1777. See Leonard Cutting to Secretary, Hempsted, December 28, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 144; January 5, 1771, in B2, No. 147; January 8, 1774, in B2, No. 149; January 9, 1777, in B2, No. 150; January 6, 1777, in B2, No. 152.

¹⁷⁶Religious cooperation in reform activities was of course never broken. Many examples are found in A. H. Abel and F. J. Klingberg (Eds.) *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (1927).

¹⁷⁷The Bishops, in their annual Sermons before the Society, were constantly asking for the support of Negro work in the colonies. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, Thomas Secker, in his Sermon preached before the S. P. G. in St. Mary-le-Bow, February 20, 1741, (London, 1741), (Huntington Library), pointed out the necessity for Negro instruction, and added a reprimand to the masters of slaves, p. 8, "For it is not to be expected that Masters, too commonly negligent of Christianity themselves, will take much Pains to teach it to their Slaves: whom even the better Part of them are in a great measure habituated to consider as they do their Cattle, merely with a view to the Profit ensuing from them."

that belonged to Quaker masters were not allowed any instruction. Some Presbyterians would allow their servants to be taught, but were unwilling they should be baptised. "And those of the church are not much better, so that there is but one negro in the parish baptized."¹⁷⁸ In 1729, for example, the baptism of two Negro children¹⁷⁹ and one Negro slave was reported by Wetmore and four Negroes were under instruction.¹⁸⁰

In 1733, Mr. Wetmore requested the Society to appoint Mr. Flint Dwight catechist for the parish of Rye, with liberty to teach school in such parts of the parish where he should find the prospect of doing service, and that he be ordered ". . . to take particular pains in instructing and catechizing the negroes as well as the white children."¹⁸¹ Mr. Dwight taught both white and Negro children after evening service with lessons from the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and such other instruction as he was "capable of giving and they of receiving."¹⁸² Together Wetmore and Dwight, as the *Notitia Parochialis* shows, prepared from two to four Negroes for baptism in some years and at times as many as eight or ten, successes showing that the Christianization of the Negro was duly in process, in miniature but impressive form, before the eyes of the parish. Mr. Wetmore often complained of the difficulty of getting exact information for his *Notitia Parochialis*. His *Notitia* for July, 1738, found in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VIII, April 13, 1739, contained the following items of information concerning Rye:

Number of inhabitants	2382
Number of baptized (Estimated)	759
Number of adults baptized this last half year	5
Actual communicants	46
Those who profess themselves of the Church	762
Dissenters of all sorts	1044
Baptists	none
Heathen and infidels	736
Converts	120

Mr. Wetmore continued at Rye until 1760, his Negro baptisms

¹⁷⁸James Wetmore to David Humphreys, Rye, February 20, 1727/1728 in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A20, pp. 218-219. He had two of his own Negroes baptized but sold them out of the parish before 1728.

¹⁷⁹James Wetmore to David Humphreys, Hempsted, September 8, 1729, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 55.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Rye, July 21, 1729, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 59.

¹⁸¹James Wetmore to David Humphreys, Rye, New York, August 20, 1733, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 21.

¹⁸²Flint Dwight to David Humphreys, Rye, New York, November 12, 1735, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A26, p. 75.

averaging between eight and ten yearly,¹⁸³ his records showing the growth of the community. In 1741, Mr. Purdy, schoolmaster at Rye, reported fifty-one children in daily attendance, of whom twenty-seven had been baptized in the Church of England. Twenty-two had dissenting parents. Two Negroes were enrolled,¹⁸⁴ and in later years, the Negro enrollments varied in this school, one being enrolled in 1762 and in 1764.¹⁸⁵ While the Negro work was limited, dissenters were constantly becoming members of the Anglican Church. Even among the Negroes baptisms were reported with surprising regularity. It may be noted that even dissenting parents seized the opportunity to send their children for instruction by the Anglican missionary, normally the best educated man in the community.

The Rev. Ephraim Avery, appointed to Rye in 1766, baptized eight black infants and two adults, in 1767;¹⁸⁶ two infants and two adults, in 1768;¹⁸⁷ and six infants, in 1769,¹⁸⁸ continuing his work with Negroes and whites throughout the years until his retirement in 1776.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³For example, in 1740-1741, he baptized four negro children, and one Negro adult; and in May, 1742, his notitia parochialis showed three adults baptized, and two children; in October, 1745, three Negro children and one adult Negro were baptized; in March, 1748, two adult Negroes were baptized; and in April, 1749, only one Negro adult was baptized. See the following letters of James Wetmore to the Secretary, Rye, New York, September 28, 1741, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), VIII, January 15, 1741/1742. This year he also baptized 65 white children and five adults; May 1, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B10, No. 104. The complete record showed 2,500 inhabitants, 12 Indians, 100 Negroes, and 1,000 whites (not baptized); October 1, 1745, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), April 18, 1746; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, p. 266; March 26, 1748, S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B16, No. 43; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XI, July 15, 1748; April 12, 1749, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B17, No. 99. The complete record for this year showed 4,000 inhabitants, 2,500 baptized, actual communicants 51, and heathen and infidels, 100.

Pennsylvania soon outgrew New York in population and remained ahead throughout the eighteenth century, although in later years New York began to overtake it. Estimates for 1755, and 1775 are Pennsylvania, 220,000 and 300,000; New York, 55,000 and 200,000. In 1765, New York, 100,000.

¹⁸⁴Mr. Purdy to [Secretary], New York, November 6, 1741, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), VIII, February 19, 1741/1742.

¹⁸⁵Timothy Wetmore to Daniel Burton, Rye, May 25, 1762, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 216; September 17, 1764, in B3, No. 224; June 30, 1763, in B3, No. 222. He taught six hours daily, his scholars numbered 63, 24 baptized in the Church, and 38 born of dissenting parents. His brother James Wetmore, had been helping him for a year, and Timothy had given his whole salary to James.

¹⁸⁶Ephraim Avery to Daniel Burton, Rye, September 29, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 233.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, September 29, 1768, in B3, No. 234.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, May 2, 1769, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, July 21, 1769.

¹⁸⁹Ephraim Avery gave little account of his parish except baptisms. Between May, 1769, and May, 1771, he baptized seven black infants and two black adults. The following year, four more black infants and one adult were baptized; in 1773, five more children; and in 1774 Avery wrote his last report which recorded four black and thirty-three white infant baptisms, and four white adults. See Ephraim Avery to Daniel Burton, Rye, May 1, 1771, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3,

The concern of the clergy for the Negro formed here as everywhere an intangible wedge of humanitarian protection between slavery unalleviated, and a degree of amelioration. Mr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler was the Society's catechist in the neighboring towns of North Castle and Bedford, with a salary of £10 per year with an arrangement that it be doubled by the inhabitants.¹⁹⁰

In 1759, Mr. Wetmore reported that Mr. St. George Talbot, of New York, had granted him £600 New York money, from which he was to receive a life income and thereafter that sum was to be used to purchase a glebe for the support of the Society's missionary at Rye. In addition, in the terms of his will he provided £400 for the same purpose, and £1000 to the Society for providing a salary for a minister at North Castle and Bedford, for the use of schools in Rye, Northcastle, and Bedford, and for clothing poor children.¹⁹¹

Himself devout, Mr. Talbot provided for the religious education of his slaves. A Negro girl of 11 years and a Negro boy of 6 years had responded so well that he proposed to give them freedom and to make some financial provision for them. The manumission of slaves by Talbot illustrates the fact that emancipation was a difficult economic process. The slave, in order to be free in fact, needed definite training so that he could count on some security as a wage earner or a farmer. At Mr. Wetmore's suggestion Talbot was made a member of the Society, thanked for the £600 already given and for the favors yet to come.¹⁹²

A few years later, in 1763, Mr. Talbot surveyed religious conditions in nearby regions for the Society, and suggested that it might be able to increase its mission without additional expense by withdrawing the salaries of missionaries in flourishing and wealthy parishes, making them self-supporting, and applying funds elsewhere. He specifically recommended that the catechists for the Negroes in New York and Philadelphia should be supported from local funds raised in these two prosperous cities.¹⁹³

No. 239. Mr. Avery said he transmitted his baptisms for 2 years, instead of one, as evidently his other letters had miscarried. In this interval, 86 white children and 15 adults had been baptized; *ibid.*, May 1, 1772, in B3, No. 240. Also baptized were 54 white infants and 1 adult; *ibid.*, November 1, 1773, in B3, No. 241. Also baptized were 90 white infants and 6 adults; September 6, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XX, January 19, 1775.

¹⁹⁰*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, May 15, 1747.

¹⁹¹James Wetmore to [Secretary], Rye, April 7, 1759, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIV, October 19, 1759. In this letter, Wetmore suggested that the Society make Mr. Talbot one of its members.

¹⁹²James Wetmore to [Secretary], Rye, April 7, 1759, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIV, October 19, 1759.

¹⁹³Mr. St. George Talbot to [Secretary], Barn Island, New York, July 1, 1763, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVI, October 28, 1763.

The minutiae of baptisms in this colony must be read as a part of the S. P. G. program from its organization to the emancipation of the slaves in the British Empire in 1834. The Society committed itself to the steady and unwavering conviction that baptism was not manumission or emancipation, but a recognition of the Negro as a human being, even though technically in slavery. It is interesting to note that this stability is in contrast with judicial decisions and legislative enactments which varied from time to time and place to place.¹⁹⁴ This conservatism enabled the Society to carry on its work under conditions where slavery was universal and the Negro in overwhelming majority as in its major enterprises at Codrington College in Barbados. The Society's middle of the road policy which allowed it to operate successfully in a wide variety of social conditions, also exposed it to the extremists among the planters on the one hand, and the advanced emancipators on the other who sarcastically at times addressed the Trustees of the Society as the "honorable body of slaveholders." Both by way of contrast with the Society's long continuity of conviction and practice was the variety of decision in the judiciary in Great Britain which recognized freedom in the British Isles and slavery in the West Indies, so that a Negro, free in England, was a runaway slave if he returned to the West Indies.¹⁹⁵ In the United States, a century later the Federal Fugitive Slave Law provided for compulsory return to slavery. Even in colonial days, as a number of the documents in this paper show, the mood for freedom, both in theory and actual practice, was developing. Towards this drift, in many posts and centers of its work, the S. P. G. made intangible and specific contributions by bringing into the open the inconsistent and inhuman restrictions put upon the slave in regard to the difficulties of marriage, the separation of children from parents, as well as by present-

¹⁹⁴For information on the variety of judicial decisions concerning Negro and Indian slavery, in the English Colonies from the beginning to 1875, including pertinent decisions in England, see Helen T. Catterall, *Vols. I to V*. It may be pointed out that former French and Spanish regions would be involved and therefore light is thrown on the attitude of all religious bodies, including the Roman Catholic. The multitude of complications deal with importations of slaves into, this or that state, the migrations of free Negroes, the relations of husbands to wives whom they owned or to wives owned by others, and of white fathers to their slave children, with cases involving the distribution of estates, and the difficulties as to whether slaves were real or personal property, with the practices of giving little Negroes to children, of hiring out adults, of letting them hire themselves out and lay up money, with escapes to Canada, to Ohio, with cases of kidnapping, runaways, permitted temporary residences in free states, church cases, cases of crime and punishment. Vol. I, iv, v.

¹⁹⁵As to the present slavery legislation in England, see *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines Friend*, July, 1939, p. 56—"It was not generally known that our forbears so framed their legislation that any British subject committing any act of slavery in any part of the world is deemed to have committed the act within the county of London, and is therefore open to arrest on his return to British territory."

ing his abilities of every sort, particularly his capacity to take a place in the parish as "a man and brother."¹⁹⁶

The activity of the Rev. Peter Stouppé of New Rochelle, goes back to the first quarter of the century. In August, 1726, he reported a list of baptisms made with the consent of the masters. Ten Negroes, six of them children, were prepared by parents, owners and the missionary. The four adults knew the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and besides were able to give a good verbal account of the Christian faith.¹⁹⁷ Out of about 78 Negroes he reported from three to seven baptisms from time to time and a constant Negro Church attendance. He assured the Society that the Negroes would always have a share in his assistance, ". . . as far as will be necessary to make them good and religious persons, without the least prejudice to the rest of my flock."¹⁹⁸ During the long period from 1726 to 1760, Mr. Stouppé's baptisms at New Rochelle kept a steady pace.¹⁹⁹ This watchful observation of the Negro, directed from London, relieved the black man in some degree from the fate of mere property under the unnoticed management of the owner. The Church in a sense claimed a part of the slave. Stouppé confined his letters mainly to the records of his baptisms which, of course, included reports of white baptisms as well. The usual number of Negro baptisms was between one and three, representing a steady, quiet pursuit of the Society regime.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶Dr. Carter G. Woodson, in his studies, has pointed out that the seasoning of the Negroes was an education in skills necessary for agricultural and domestic work. His, *The African Background Outlined* (1936), has two excellent chapters on "The Education of the Negro," and "The Religious Development of the Negro."

¹⁹⁷Peter Stouppé to David Humphreys, New Rochelle, August 20, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A19, pp. 397-398.

¹⁹⁸Peter Stouppé to David Humphreys, New Rochelle, December 11, 1727, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A20, p. 204. In June, 1730, Mr. Stouppé recorded the baptism of six Negro children and one adult, and in December of the same year several more, and in 1731 three slaves. See letters from Peter Stouppé to David Humphreys, New Rochelle, New York. June 19, 1727, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A20, p. 189; June 5, 1730, in A23, p. 63; December 29, 1730, in A21, p. 92; December 22, 1731, in A23, p. 35.

¹⁹⁹A few reports taken at random will illustrate. Three black children were baptized on Easter, 1733, five on the following Easter, two in December, 1735, five in June, 1736, four in June, 1737, and six in 1740. See letters of Peter Stouppé to David Humphreys, New Rochelle, April 7, 1733, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B1, No. 40; June 7, 1734, in A25, p. 13; see also July 30, 1734, in A25, p. 26; December 2, 1735, in A26, p. 95; June 1, 1736, in A26, p. 270; June 10, 1737, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, April 21, 1738; November 9, 1748; in *ibid.*, VIII, February 20, 1740/1741.

²⁰⁰From May 22, to November 12, 1741, one black child was baptized; from January to June, 1743, three black children were baptized; from April to November, 1744, the same number were baptized, and in June, 1745, the number increased to five black children, and one Negro woman. From 1747 to 1750, the baptisms ran as follows: six children between July, 1747, to April, 1748; the same from October, 1748, to May 1, 1749; eight from May to November, 1749, and four from November, 1749, to June, 1750. Mr. Stouppé's Negro baptisms

Despite heavy enlistments for the French and Indian War, Stoupe reported in 1758, that his congregation was "orderly and peaceable."²⁰¹ His successor at New Rochelle, the Rev. Michael Houdin, was equally successful in his Negro work,²⁰² reporting seventeen Negro baptisms in 1764.²⁰³

As was to be expected, life on the new frontiers was difficult and dangerous. Hard work was the standard assignment and disease took a steady toll of young and old. In Jamaica, the Long Island mission, for example, the first worker of the Society, the Rev. Patrick Gordon died with a fever in 1702, the year of his arrival. His successor, the Rev. James Honyman, a Scotsman,²⁰⁴ was in 1705 transferred to Rhode Island, the first resident S. P. G. Missionary in that colony.²⁰⁵ The third man in the Jamaica station, the Rev. William Urquhart, although "very diligent in his Mission and well respected by all the Members of the Church,"²⁰⁶ lived only a few years after his appointment in 1704.²⁰⁷ The hazards of the Atlantic Sea voyages to secure ordination and the hardships of pioneering were matters of constant comment and arguments for a resident bishop. However, the Jamaica parish grew in importance. The Rev. Thomas Colgan, appointed in 1732, not only showed an interest in Negro work, but brought his parish into a thriv-

were five in 1751, seven in 1752; six in 1756; five in June, 1758; seven in November, 1758. See letters of Peter Stoupe to Secretary, New Rochelle, New York, November 12, 1741, *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IX, April 9, 1742; June 15, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B11, No. 142; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IX, September 16, 1743. He also reported the baptism of ten white children and 66 communicants; November 15, 1744, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, April 19, 1745; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B13, p. 250; June 5, 1745, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B13, p. 251; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, November 15, 1745. In this letter Stoupe asks leave to go to Switzerland and spend his last days with his relatives. The Society granted this request but evidently Stoupe changed his mind, as he continued letters from New Rochelle. April 15, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B16, No. 45. May 1, 1749, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B17, No. 100; November 25, 1749, in B18, No. 124; June 8, 1750, in B18, No. 123; June 10, 1751, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B19, No. 89; May 10, 1752, in B20, No. 75; June 10, 1756, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIII, December 17, 1756; June 5, 1758, in XIV, November 17, 1758; November 28, 1758, in XIV, March 16, 1759.

²⁰¹Peter Stoupe to Philip Bearcroft, November 28, 1758, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIV, March 16, 1759.

²⁰²Michael Houdin to [Secretary], New Rochelle, April 17, 1764, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVI, July 20, 1764. Three white adults of the same family were also baptized. The father was a convert from the Church of Rome and the mother from the Anabaptists. For the best extant account of Houdin's career, see J. W. Lydekker's biography in *Historical Magazine*, V. (1936), 312-324.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, October 23, 1764, in XVI, January 25, 1765.

²⁰⁴*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, March 19, 1702/1703.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, April 21, 1704. *S. P. G. Digest*, p. 853.

²⁰⁶David Humphreys, *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, p. 226. (London, 1730.) Humphreys gives an invaluable account of the Society's work in all the colonies up to 1725.

²⁰⁷*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, February 4, 1703/1704.

ing condition.²⁰⁸ During one twelve month period, he baptized five Negroes. A little later, he recorded ten Negro baptisms. Three were baptized in 1751; eighteen, in 1752; and six, in 1753.²⁰⁹ These baptisms show that, despite the usual pioneer difficulties, the education of blacks, poor whites, and masters was going forward, according to the Society's pattern of experiment. In 1760, Mr. Seabury lamented the very slight increase in the number of his church members, attributing the slow growth to Philosophical Deism, which, he believed, brought indifference to religion in his parish, with reduction in regular church attendance. The records, however, show a steady baptism of white men as well as of Negroes and a development of this religious community.²¹⁰ Sea-

²⁰⁸Thomas Colgan reported four Negro baptisms in 1743, three adults between September, 1743, and March, 1744, two from March to September, 1744. See the letters of Thomas Colgan to [Philip Bearcroft] Jamaica, Long Island, September 29, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B11, No. 135 [?]. *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IX, March 16, 1743/1744. Other items in this 'Notitia parochialis' were

Number of Inhabitants	about 1,500
Number of baptized in last half year	25
Number of adults baptized last half year	4 negroes 5 whites a few Indians
Number of Heathens and Infidels	

See also the letter of March 26, 1744, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) B13, pp. 228-229, 232.

²⁰⁹Thomas Colgan to Philip Bearcroft, Jamaica, March 25, 1751, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B19, No. 88; March 25, 1752, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XII, November 17, 1752; March 26, 1753, in *ibid.*, XII, October 19, 1753; March 25, 1752, in *ibid.*, XII, November 17, 1752.

²¹⁰However a few Negroes continued to be baptized, one adult in March, 1759, one again in October with three infants; three children in March, 1760; one adult and one child in October, 1760; one infant and five adults in March, 1761; three children and one man in September, 1761; one adult and three children in March, 1762; five children in October, 1764; three children and one adult in April, 1765; one adult and four children in October, 1765. In South Side the same year he baptized four white children, one Negro adult, and five negro children, the slaves of William Nicol. In April, 1766, he reported three Negro children baptized, and one adult; three children in October, 1766. In 1767, Seabury was transferred to East and West Chester, and recorded four children's baptisms in December, 1767, and for the next eight years, his Negro baptisms continued between three and six. See the letters of Samuel Seabury, Jr., to Secretary, Jamaica, March 28, 1760, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, November 21, 1760; March 28, 1759, in XIV, November 16, 1759; October 10, 1759, in XIV, June 20, 1760; March 28, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 155; Oct. 26, 1760, in B2, No. 156; March 26, 1761, in B2, No. 157; September 30, 1761, in B2, No. 158; March 26, 1762, in B2, No. 197; October 6, 1764, in B1, No. 18; April 8, 1765, in B2, No. 165; October 1, 1765, in B2, No. 167; April 8, 1765, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, No. 165; April 17, 1766, in B2, No. 169; October 7, 1766, in B2, No. 170; Westchester, December 28, 1767, in B2, No. 172; baptisms in 1769 were six, four in 1770, five in 1771, two in 1772, and four in 1775. See S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B2, Nos. 175, 178, 179, 181-183, 185, 188. Mr. Seabury when stationed in West Chester 1766-1776, recorded several black baptisms. In 1771, three infants and two adults were baptized; in 1772, two children were baptized; in 1773, ten; and in 1774, two children. See Samuel Seabury to [Secretary] Westchester, April 8, 1771, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIX, July 19, 1771; March 28, 1772, in XIX, October 23, 1772; October 6, 1773, in XX, March 18, 1774; October 5, 1774, XX, January 19, 1775.

bury's reference to Deism illustrates the migration of the intellectual concepts of the time across the Atlantic, and the interest in them. The weapons used by the Anglicans were such fiery and masterly sermons as that of Bishop Warburton in 1766, in which he surveyed the duty of Christian man to "savage natives", and encompassed an evaluation of the whole range of 18th century ideas. He delivered an especial blast against those who postponed the Negro's reward to Heaven, while exploiting him here, and failing to prepare him for Heaven.

The Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr., Colgan's successor in Jamaica, had been catechist at Huntington, Long Island, from 1748 to 1752. He held the Jamaica mission from 1757-1765, and was transferred to East and West Chester for the years 1766 to 1776. On the Tory side during the American Revolution he was, nevertheless, elected Bishop of Connecticut, in 1783, and was consecrated by the Scottish Bishops at Aberdeen, on November 14, 1784. His attention to regular Negro care is shown in his reports of baptisms and religious instruction.²¹¹

A missionary for Philipsburg, the Rev. Henry Munro, arrived on May 20, 1765, after an eight weeks' passage from London,²¹² and at once taking up the special charges of the Society, was able to report within half a year, the baptism of twenty-three white and four black children, and six black adults, out of a total of 1,500 inhabitants. In attendance, he soon had twenty-one white and six Negro catechumens.²¹³ In July, 1766, he wrote,

I have baptized nine white children, four black children, and two black adults. . . . My black catechumens being fewer in number are instructed in Church every Sunday, after evening prayer; and I can, with pleasure, assure the Society that my labours, in this useful part of my duty, are attended with success.

The remarkable proficiency of my young catechumens, and the great desire the negroes have of learning, give me great hopes that God will bless my endeavours, and make me an instrument of advancing his glory.²¹⁴

²¹¹*From January to Michaelmas, 1757, Seabury baptized two Negro children, and in the following year one child was baptized and he had two negro adults under instruction. See Samuel Seabury to [Secretary] Jamaica, October 2, 1757, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XIV, June 16, 1758; ibid., March 28, 1758, in XIV, November 17, 1758.*

²¹²*Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Phillipsburg, New York, June 8, 1765, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 258.*

²¹³*Harry Munro to the Society, Philipsborough, April 28, 1766, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 260 [belongs to No. 259—dated February 1, 1766]; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XVII, July 18, 1766.*

²¹⁴*Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, July 12, 1766, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 267. Although this letter and others up to June, 1767, are dated at Albany, Munro held the Philipsburg station until 1767.*

And again in December, 1766, he explained his work,

In the summer season, I read prayers and preach twice every Sunday, catechizing the children regularly after the second session in the evening, and the negroes after divine service is ended. My success in this respect is very visible. I have now upwards of fifty catechumens, who can say our Church catechism extremely well.²¹⁵

And, a little later,

The black children and adults are catechized every Sunday evening. . . . My catechumens are fifty in number, viz., thirty-three white children, and seventeen blacks. Baptized since my last account, forty-seven, viz, thirty-two white children, seven black children, and eight black adults, whom I have previously instructed in our church catechism and the nature of the baptismal covenant.

These poor negroes are very fond of my instructions, and seem to be extremely thankful for my care and attention to their spiritual concerns. Many of them can answer every question in the catechism properly and distinctly; and against next Whitsunday, I hope, some of them, who are now preparing, shall be found worthy to be admitted to Holy Communion.²¹⁶

In spite of these successes, on account of a controversy with a leading parish member, he asked to be transferred to Albany where he began his work in 1768.²¹⁷

At the Albany mission the major part of the work of the S. P. G. was with the Indians,²¹⁸ but the Rev. John Beasley²¹⁹ pleaded the cause of the Negroes and asked to be given a salary as catechist.

He wrote,

I perceive by your letter that the Society [have not come] to any resolution of fixing a salary at Albany, but intend to

²¹⁵Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, New York, December 26, 1766, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 262; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, April 10, 1767.

²¹⁶Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, January 3, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 268.

²¹⁷Harry Munro to [Secretary], Philipsburg, June 26, 1767, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVII, October 16, 1767.

²¹⁸For a detailed study of the Society's work with the Indians in New York, see Frank J. Klingberg, "The Noble Savage as seen by the S. P. G. Missionary in Colonial New York, 1702-1750" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VIII, No. 2, June, 1939, pp. 128-165; also "Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" in *ibid.*, VIII, No. 1, March, 1939, pp. 4-37.

²¹⁹Sometimes spelled Beasley or Beazly.

employ the money arising by that fund for the instruction of the negroes where they are most numerous; if the Honourable Society [were] but acquainted of the vast number of ignorant negroes that [are] amongst us, and during the summer months yearly more [brought] hither to be sold. I humbly conceive they would think it very necess[ary] as well as a charitable work to establish a catechist in Albany [where] there is more than 300 inhabitants in this city, and by a modest computation there can't be less than 400 negroes and their N[umber] must unavoidably increase, since there is yearly such [vast numbers] of them imported in this province; wherefore should the [Society] condescend to fix a salary upon me for such service, I doubt [not it] would answer the end of so charitable a work. . . .

Since my last there have been [eight] negroes baptized here 6 adults and 2 children.²²⁰

The Society agreed to send him ten pounds gratuity, but informed him that it could not establish a Negro catechist at Albany nor at any other place.²²¹ Additional pleas brought the same response.²²²

The Rev. John Ogilvie, the missionary in Albany from 1749-1762, whose work with the Indians at Fort Hunter was outstanding, found many Negroes in Albany desirous of instruction. To encourage them he catechized them on Sundays, after service in the afternoons. In 1750, he baptized two Negro children,²²³ and in June, 1752, Ogilvie wrote of his church in Albany,

As to the Church of Albany, no great alteration, only that I've received five persons to the communion and baptized 22 white and 4 black children, who had passed thro' a regular course of catechetical instruction, and brought a certificate of their good behavior from their masters. The good people of the Church in this place which was very much fallen to decay; and by the generous contribution of his excellency Governour Clinton and the Honourable Council, and most of the principal inhabitants of Albany, have erected a handsome steeple and purchased a very good bell, and other ornaments of the

²²⁰John Beasley to David Humphreys, Albany, November 20, [1733], in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B1, No. 6; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, April 19, 1734. (N. B. Words in brackets supplied because original manuscript torn.)

For details on the Slave Trade, see Elizabeth Donnan's volumes, referred to above, Note 1.

²²¹*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, April 19, 1734.

²²²John Beasley to David Humphreys, Albany, June 15, 1734, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A25, p. 19; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VI, October 18, 1734.

²²³John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, July 27, 1750, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B18, Nos. 102-103.

Church, so that the public offices of religion are attended with circumstances of dignity and solemnity.²²⁴

In Albany and in Schenectady, Ogilvie baptized from February, 1759, to February, 1760, 104 white children and fifteen Negroes.²²⁵ A hint of the cooperation he had gained from the masters is given in the certificate of good behavior from the master indicating that he had committed the master to join him in the observation of the parish work for Negroes. When the Rev. Mr. Munro came to Albany, in 1768, as stated above, he found the Negroes eager for religious instruction and the masters cooperative. He baptized eighteen adult Negroes, whom he had previously instructed in the Christian faith. He reported,

These and some more blacks I constantly catechise every Sunday, after evening prayer; and can with great pleasure inform the Society that there is a visible change and reformation among these poor negroes. I have had no complaints of immorality since they were baptized; nor has any proved a scandal to his Holy profession; and the daily petitions I receive from their masters, requesting me to baptize more, is, I humbly think, a plain argument in their favour.

I have lately admitted a negro man to the Holy Communion, after due instruction, and enquiring particularly into his morals, I have also, since my appointment to this mission, baptized two white adults; one of them a convert from the Anabaptists, the other a woman detained a prisoner for many years among the Indians.²²⁶

By 1772, Mr. Munro had instructed and baptized more than fifty Negroes, and six of them had been admitted to Holy Communion.²²⁷ Next year, he stated, "Divine service is duely and punctually performed twice every Sunday, and the children and negros catechized, as in my last account."²²⁸

Returning to an earlier time, 1743, and surveying another place, the Rev. Isaac Browne, of Brookhaven, reported success in his work

²²⁴John Ogilvie to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, June 29, 1752, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B20, Nos. 55-56.

²²⁵John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, May 20, 1760, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B2, No. 106.

²²⁶Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, July 20, 1771, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B3, No. 272; *Journal of S. P. G.* (*L. C. Trans.*), XIX, November 15, 1771.

²²⁷Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, August 12, 1772, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B3, No. 273; *Journal of S. P. G.* (*L. C. Trans.*), XIX, December 18, 1772. Munro stated that Governor Tryon had made the Church a generous donation to repair the windows.

²²⁸Harry Munro to Richard Hind, Albany, October 20, 1773, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B3, No. 274.

with Negroes and Indians and threw interesting side lights on conditions in his parish.²²⁹

Of Heathens and Infidels—Those who were lately call'd Heathens, Seem many of them now to be a Miraculous compound of Paganism and Methodism—Some of the Indians & Negroes come often to Church, and I take all the pains I can with them in private as I have Opportunity.

He found the Lord Bishop of Man's Essay on the Instruction of the Indian, a valuable guide for Negroes, Whites and Indians.²³⁰ He occasionally visited neighboring communities, Crab Meadow for one, where he carried on his religious work.²³¹

The Church of England, a pioneer in many a new community, often began in a small way and the early missionary frontiersman is as interesting and as important as fur trader and first settler. The early scattered settlers asked for and accepted the Church and the School, two institutions helpful in preventing a return of barbarism. The many sided efforts of the missionary must be kept in mind as each new religious center is mentioned in rapid survey. The Rev. Thomas Standard, missionary at West Chester for many years, 1726-1760, reported an occasional Negro baptism²³² and his successor, the Rev. John Milner, found the masters cooperative. In 1763, one master requested the baptism of ten black infants and promised to see them instructed. As a sampling, from the records, fifteen Negroes were baptized by Milner in 1761, ten in 1762, and five in 1764.²³³

At another mission, New Windsor, the Rev. Hezekiah Watkins baptized a Negro adult in 1746, who appeared "to have a right sense

²²⁹Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, March 25, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B11, No. 138. *Feeling between religious bodies often ran high, and the same observation is true of politics.*

²³⁰Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, September 25, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B11, No. 140.

²³¹Isaac Browne to [Philip Bearcroft], Brookhaven, March 26, 1744, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, p. 279, *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), IX, September 21, 1744. Crab Meadow had a population of 100 and a third of the inhabitants had never seen a church in their lifetime.*

²³²Thomas Standard to Philip Bearcroft, [Westchester], New York, October [25?], 1745, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B13, p. 226. *Other items in the "Notitia Parochialis" included:*

No. of inhabitants

No. of baptized (past year)

Adults baptized

Communicants of Church of England

Heathens and Infidels

Not known

29

One, a negro

20

(Negroes—considerable

(Indians—few

²³³John Milner to [Secretary] West Chester, New York, December 10, 1763, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), XVI, July 20, 1764.*

of the Christian religion," and in 1747, one adult Negro Man and two children were baptized.²³⁴ The following year he had "worn out his health" with his duties. By way of summary he stated, in 1754, that he had, in the last five years, baptized in all 275 white children and five black ones, ten white and five black adults.²³⁵ And again six years later in 1760, he related from his new station at Newburgh that he had

heard that several of our ships from these parts have been taken by the enemy, perhaps my last letters are not come to hand, therefore, I would observe to you, that from June 29, 1759, to November 18, 1760, I have baptized 81 white children and 4 black children. . . .²³⁶

His success at Newburgh with whites and Negroes up to 1759 is revealed in a total of 612 baptisms, with favorable reports in the succeeding years.²³⁷ In 1771, from Huntington, the Rev. James Greaton commented on Negro conduct at religious services,

My hearers behave with the greatest decency at public worship;—among whom are a number of negros (between 30 and 40), the masters of which come to church. The rest belong to Dissenters who are actuated with so much charity as by no means to forbid their attendance. The negroes behaviour is highly meritorious and many of them are really Patterns of Goodness. Some of them read *well*, and accurately perform the responses of the Church, and one is a

²³⁴See letters of Hezekiah Watkins to [Secretary], *New Windsor, New York*, March 26, 1746, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, June 19, 1747; May 6, 1747, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B15, fo. 84; November 3, 1747, in B15, fol. 101; October 6, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B6, No. 52; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, April 21, 1749.

²³⁵Hezekiah Watkins to [Secretary], *New Windsor*, May 5, 1754, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XII, December 20, 1754.

²³⁶Hezekiah Watkins to Philip Bearcroft, *Newburgh*, November 18, 1760, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, No. 300; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, April 17, 1761.

²³⁷From the time of Mr. Hezekiah Watkins' letter of November 17, 1757, to the one of June 20, 1759, he baptized 81 whites and five blacks, which made the whole number baptized since the beginning of his work in Newburgh 612. Mr. Watkin's Negro baptisms were four from June 29, 1759, to November 18, 1760; two from June 24, 1761, to May 5, 1762; three from July 30, 1763, to November 2, 1763; and two in October, 1764. See letters of Hezekiah Watkins to Philip Bearcroft, *Newburgh*, June 29, 1757, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, 299; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XIV, May 16, 1760; November 18, 1760, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XV, April 17, 1761; May 5, 1762, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B3, No. 303. Total number Watkins had baptized in Newburgh given as 767. July 30, 1763, in B3, No. 306. He also baptized a white woman who "had been educated in Quaker principles," and 19 white children; October 30, 1764, in B3, No. 308.

member in full communion—am in hopes that there will be further addition of them.²³⁸

And in 1768, from Poughkeepsie, the Rev. John Beardsley reported steady progress with white men and Negroes up to the American Revolution.²³⁹ And not far away, at Schenectady, during the years 1770-1773, the Rev. Williams Andrews²⁴⁰ baptized three Negroes in 1771.²⁴¹ The next year he wrote, "Since the 30th of June last I have baptized 1 white and 24 black children; married 4 couples; buried 7; and have 43 communicants; and also 16 catechumens."²⁴² An interesting item was inserted in his letter of March 25, 1773, when he said his congregation, by means of a lottery, had just finished a wooden steeple on the Church.²⁴³ In 1773, he reported the baptism of two black infants along with fifty-nine white children and four adults.²⁴⁴

In 1773, at Johnstown, the Rev. Richard Mosley, explained that he had a group of New England dissenters in his parish, early emissaries of those millions of men who later spread across the continent, but that Sir William Johnson labored as much as possible to forward religion in this newly settled place. Mosley baptized twenty-three black adults in May, 1773,²⁴⁵ and seventeen in October, 1773.²⁴⁶

²³⁸James Greateon to Daniel Burton, Huntington, New York. January 23, 1771, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 147; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, May 17, 1771.

²³⁹John Beardsley in October, 1768, reported four black infant baptisms and three black adult ones, one Negro child was baptized in 1771, and his church was in "a tolerable good state." This continued into 1772 and 1773, and in April, 1774, he baptized two black infants. One was also baptized in 1775 but in his report for 1775 there was no mention of Negroes baptized. See letters of John Beardsley to [Secretary], Poughkeepsie, New York, October 10, 1768, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XVIII, January 20, 1769; April 26, 1771, in XIX, July 19, 1771; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 33, April 26, 1774, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 35; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XX, August 19, 1774; April 26, 1775, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 36; October 26, 1775, in B3, No. 37.

²⁴⁰This William Andrews is not to be confused with the man by the same name who worked with the Indians in the Albany parish from 1712-1719.

²⁴¹William Andrews to [Secretary], Schenectady June 30, 1771, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, October 18, 1771. In this letter, he also mentioned the attendance of the Dutch at his services.

²⁴²William Andrews to Daniel Burton, Schenectady, June 30, 1772, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 10, *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, December 18, 1772.

²⁴³William Andrews to [Secretary], March 25, 1773, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, September 17, 1773. Two Negro baptisms were also recorded in this letter.

²⁴⁴John Beardsley to Richard Hind, Poughkeepsie, New York, October 26, 1773, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B3, No. 34; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XX, January 21, 1774.

²⁴⁵Richard Mosley to [Secretary], Johnstown, New York, May 19, 1773, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XIX, September 17, 1773.

²⁴⁶*Ibid.*, October 22, 1773, in XX, January 21, 1774; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B4, No. 297.

Although New York was not the most populous colony of 1775, its strategic importance was so great that it became British Army and Navy Headquarters in 1776, and remained in British hands until the final evacuation in 1783. Center of the Tory concentration of population during this time, it was the city of refuge for men such as Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis. Even before the fighting began, the Colony had many loyalists, was sharply divided in opinion, and for a decade or more had been the center of a pamphlet war in which S. P. G. missionaries entered heartily, including the two men just mentioned. With such divisions and consequent bitterness, the temporary abandonment of Anglican religious activity was inevitable.²⁴⁷ No man of William White's prominence appeared in New York as in Pennsylvania on the patriot side. A quick roll call of those who were active in S. P. G. and their fate in the maelstrom of the Revolution cycle will show how the storm affected several of the parishes.

III. EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The American Revolution produced a crisis in the affairs of the Society in the thirteen colonies. The S. P. G. clergy, bound by a special oath to the King, were naturally marked out for persecution. The Rev. Luke Babcock of the Philipsburg station, 1771-1777, was taken prisoner in 1776 and dismissed while ill, in February, 1777.

Mr. C. F. Pascoe, in *Two Hundred Years of S. P. G.* writes,

According to Dr. Inglis and others, the Rev. E. Avery of Rye was "murdered by the rebels" in a most barbarous manner, on Nov. 3, 1776, "for not praying for the Congress," "his body having been shot thro', his throat cut, and his corpse thrown into the public highway," but Dr. Seabury seemed to impute his death to insanity occasioned by the losses he had sustained.²⁴⁸

Dr. Samuel Seabury, in March, 1770, observed that the Church people, considered as a body, had conducted themselves in these times of violence so as to do honor to the Church, and it would be remem-

²⁴⁷In *New York, the Anglican versus dissenter controversy went back to the days of Elias Neau and Lord Cornbury. Accustomed to a minority position, the Anglican leaders were intelligent, resourceful, and courageous, and fought on terms of equality with men such as Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Paine. Cowards had been eliminated and men such as Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis had come to the front. The New York story has been told from the standpoint of Charles Inglis by John Wolfe Lydekker in his *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, (London, 1936); and the fate of the New York S. P. G. Library, as well as the effect of political controversy and warfare, has been presented by Austin Keep in his *History of the New York Society Library, with an Introductory Chapter on Libraries in Colonial New York, 1698-1776* (New York, 1908.)*

²⁴⁸C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, p. 75. For Dr. Inglis letter see *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XXI, January 17, 1777.

bered many years with approbation.²⁴⁹ Treated with kindness at first, in 1775, he wrote that he had been forced to retire for a few days to escape the threatened vengeance of the rebels. Extreme language flew back and forth. The charge against the clergy was that they, in conjunction with the Society and the British Ministry, had laid a plan for enslaving America. Seabury declared that those who raised this charge did not believe it themselves, but only used it to arouse popular fury.²⁵⁰ The same year Seabury was carried a prisoner to Connecticut because he was a leading loyalist pamphleteer, offensive to the "Sons of Liberty". On his release several months later, he returned to New York where he received daily insults from the Patriot army. After the Declaration of Independence had been made, rather than not pray for the King, he shut his church. Yet none of his parishioners did him or the church any harm. He wrote, in 1778, that the general position of the clergy in New England was that they could perform every duty of their office unmolested except public service in the Church.²⁵¹

The Rev. Leonard Cutting, of Hempsted, wrote, in 1777, that his church had fared better than might have been expected. After the Declaration of Independence, he was obliged to shut his church up for some time, until after the arrival of the King's troops, when his work continued, and he reported the baptism of 25 white and one Negro child, five adults and one Negro girl.²⁵² He also conducted services at Oyster Bay, but under the circumstances, he questioned the possibility of the continued existence of the Anglican Church.²⁵³ In 1783, he reported that the church at Oyster Bay had been totally stripped, nothing was left except the shell and that was considerably damaged.²⁵⁴

West Chester, Staten Island, and other parishes were suffering from frequent incursions of the Patriots and some of the residents had to flee to New York or to Long Island.²⁵⁵ The Rev. Joshua Bloomer, of Jamaica, reported his mission was greatly distressed on account of the loyal sentiments of his people.²⁵⁶ The Rev. Richard Charlton, of Staten Island, indicated that in the midst of the present distractions, the people

²⁴⁹Samuel Seabury to [Secretary], *East and West Chester*, March 29, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII, August 17, 1770.

²⁵⁰Samuel Seabury to [Secretary], *East and West Chester*, New York, May 30, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, September 15, 1775.

²⁵¹Samuel Seabury to [Secretary], *West Chester*, January 20, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, April 10, 1778.

²⁵²Leonard Cutting to [Secretary], *Hempsted*, New York, January 6, 1777, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, March 21, 1777.

²⁵³Leonard Cutting to [Secretary], *Hempsted*, July 1, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, October 16, 1778.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, XXIII, II, July 28, 1783.

²⁵⁵*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXII, September 6, 1780.

²⁵⁶Joshua Bloomer to [Secretary], *Jamaica*, February 7, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, May 17, 1776.

of his island had remained steadfast in their loyalty, and had no connection with Congresses and Committees.²⁵⁷

The Rev. Epenetus Townsend, of Salem, assured the Society of his constancy in performing his duties and he had not had, in September, 1775, any decrease in numbers.²⁵⁸ The Rev. John Sayre, of Huntington, could not give as favorable a report. He had tried to instruct the Negroes but found it of little use in a time of war and confusion.²⁵⁹

The Rev. John Doty, of Schenectady, stuck to his post from 1775 to 1778, kept up his catechetical lectures for slaves and baptized several Negroes, but he was finally forced to flee to Canada, where he was appointed as a chaplain.²⁶⁰

The Rev. Gideon Bostwick, of Great Barrington, was repeatedly admonished by the Committee of Correspondence to omit prayers for the King in the Church service. When he refused to omit any part of the service, he was informed that he continued his defiance at his own peril.²⁶¹

Mr. Hildreth, schoolmaster, thanked the Society for some books for his school; for due to the non-importation agreements, not a Prayer Book could be bought in the city of New York.²⁶² In 1776, when his school house was burned down, he took a vacant house and collected a few scholars, including one or two Negroes.²⁶³

As early as 1774, Dr. Samuel Auchmuty wrote that he would like to say much on the subject of the Rebellion, but through prudence, he would observe only that had the Government established an American Bishopric twenty years earlier, these circumstances, in his judgment, never would have arisen.²⁶⁴ New York City was in great confusion, and the churches in the neighboring colonies were taken over by the Patriots, the missionaries jailed, or sent into the back country.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁷Richard Charlton to [Secretary], Staten Island, New York, April 24, and October 13, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, January 19, 1776.

²⁵⁸Epenetus Townsend to [Secretary], Salem, September 29, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, July 19, 1776.

²⁵⁹John Sayre to [Secretary], New York, January 30, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, April 10, 1778.

²⁶⁰John Doty to [Secretary], Montreal, May 30, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, October 16, 1778. For Doty's biography, see J. W. Lydecker, *Historical Magazine*, VII. (1938), pp. 287-300.

²⁶¹Gideon Bostwick to [Secretary], Great Barrington, New York, June 28, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, November 17, 1775.

²⁶²Joseph Hildreth to [Secretary], New York, October 16, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XVIII, December 21, 1770.

²⁶³Joseph Hildreth to [Secretary], New York, October 6, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, January 17, 1777.

²⁶⁴Samuel Auchmuty to [Secretary], New York, September 12, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XX, January 19, 1775; the Government was also criticised by Dr. Jonathan Shipley (Bishop of St. Asaph) in his *Sermon before the S. P. G. on February 19, 1773*, pp. 1-20. (Huntington Library.)

²⁶⁵*Ibid.*, November 20, 1776, in XXI, January 17, 1777.

A good description of the Revolution from the missionary's point of view was given by the Rev. Charles Inglis in a letter, dated October 31, 1776. He stated that all the Society's missionaries and other clergy of the Church in the New England provinces had proved themselves faithful subjects, had used their utmost power to oppose any spirit of disaffection, and had avoided politics, but this very silence gave offense. After the Declaration of Independence, the clergy were greatly embarrassed, for, to officiate publicly and not pray for the King was against their oath and conscience, but to do so was to bring on themselves inevitable destruction. Therefore, most of the ministers had shut up their churches and had removed to points of safety. Inglis told of an interesting encounter with General Washington. On Washington's entrance to New York, he requested Inglis to omit the King's prayers. Inglis replied that it was in his power to shut up the churches, but not to make the clergy depart from their duty. He was permitted to continue in spite of threats and insults, and, after the Declaration of Independence, he ceased to preach but remained in the city to visit the sick and perform other parochial duties. He had, at the risk of his life, answered *Common Sense*. The reply was seized and burned by the "Sons of Liberty." However, he later had it brought out in Philadelphia. Inglis believed that the Church had lost none of its members by the Rebellion.²⁶⁶ Yet the following year, 1777, he said the parish of New York was practically bankrupt, and asked for aid from England. All the missionaries were being persecuted.²⁶⁷ In 1778, he reported the war was threatening the extinction of the Church of England in America. Besides, almost all the conscientious clergy of the South had gone to England or taken refuge in New York to avoid imprisonment or taking the oath of allegiance.²⁶⁸

In 1778, Mr. Inglis asked for a catechist for the Negroes, but was refused on account of insufficient funds. All of the New York clergy, he stated, were within the King's lines except Messrs. Doty, Munro and Stuart.²⁶⁹ Many loyalists, during and immediately following the Revolution, fled to various parts of the Empire. Many went to Canada, a few to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and others to the Bermudas and West Indies. They were sought out and welcomed by the resi-

²⁶⁶Charles Inglis to [Secretary], New York, October 31, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, January 17, 1777, pp. 126-132; John Wolfe Lydekker, *Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, pp. 156-171.

It is to be noted that Inglis was within the British lines from the capture of New York by the Howes in 1776 until its evacuation in 1783, when he left with Sir Guy Carleton's departing troops. Not always on the scene, the different missionaries could not at times report as eye witnesses.

²⁶⁷Charles Inglis to [Secretary], New York, November 10, 1777, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, February 20, 1778.

²⁶⁸*Ibid.*, October 24, 1778, in XXI, December 18, 1778.

dent missionaries of the Society. The education and Christianization work of the Society thus emigrated to these other colonies of the Empire.

The frequent references in this paper to the sacrament (rite) of baptism must not be interpreted in a narrow sense but must be regarded throughout as synonymous with Christianization. Christianization in turn must be regarded as having large social significance, involving as it did the transference of European civilization to the Negro by teaching him the English language and thus handing him the key to the white man's culture. In New York at least, public opinion, legislative enactment, and judicial decision were moving in the direction of the Negro's freedom and the recognition of his civil rights. Steps were forward, not backward, and it is obvious from the body of evidence presented in this paper that the S. P. G. played a leading part in securing the Negro's religious freedom, a prelude to his civil and political rights.

The complete achievement of the S. P. G. in New York, which includes the founding of Columbia University and a major part in establishing the educational system of the Commonwealth, is beyond the scope of this study.²⁷⁰

The Society's force cannot be assessed at any one place, or even at one period of time. Exerted now for nearly two and one-half centuries, the continuity of effort, the accumulation of experience, made the Anglican effort a world power of weight. In the eighteenth century the exchange of personnel was as remarkable as the exchange of ideas. Christian Frederick Post went from the Pennsylvania frontier to the Mosquito Shore, others from the Colonies to the West Indies and to Africa. In the elusive but always fascinating might-have-beens, the question may be asked, except for the separation of the Thirteen Colonies, would not the momentum have brought emancipation to America as a member of Empire in the 1830's without the bloody 1860's and the loss of a million dead?

However interesting this speculation may be, the attainment of political independence with its salvage of much of the British heritage by American born men is matched by a similar development in the American Episcopal Church. Americans such as Samuel Seabury and William White were able to found this new independent American

²⁶⁹Charles Inglis to [Secretary], New York, May 1, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XXI, June 19, 1778. The Connecticut Clergy were not allowed to leave their province.

²⁷⁰See William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (New York, 1913)*.

Church in the creation of which the S. P. G. had played a notable part. In brief, political separation did not break religious and cultural contacts, but these heritages, among dissenters as well as Anglicans, were saved and incorporated in the new Nation and the new American Churches. The making of the Church's Constitution, the admission of the laity directly into the legislative councils of the Church, the whole process by which the first offspring of the Church of England set itself up as a "free church in a free state," the principle of the separation of Church and State as the chief contribution of American Christianity to the world, are among the developments which have been traced in penetrating studies in the Constitution Number of the *Historical Magazine*, September, 1939.²⁷¹ The Episcopal Church met its peculiarly difficult problems with resourcefulness. Under wise leadership, as the nation grew, the Church established itself in all parts of the country as a vital force in American life.

Returning to the main theme of this presentation, the Anglican contributions to humane interests in the Negro were weighty, long sustained, based in first hand experience, fully recorded in the mass of S. P. G. records, and like other initial and small scale beginnings of reform, grew in scope from generation to generation. Intellectual history, elusive and intangible, suggests that ideas, like water, go underground, and reappear later and at unexpected distances from the point of absorption. The later phases of British and American anti-slavery opinion, which are beyond the scope of this discussion, indicate the existence of an earlier eighteenth century attitude or mood on which positive humanitarian action could be based. The Annual Sermons preached before the Society in London throughout the eighteenth century by distinguished leaders of public opinion, Bishops Fleetwood, Butler, Berkeley, Shipley, Secker, Warburton, kept the idea of humanitarianism towards native people before the British governing class of which these notable men were themselves members. Their philosophical speculation and Christian idealism were accompanied by the laboratory field work of the Society's numerous agents in the New World. The clergy and parishes of Great Britain, constantly informed and solicited for funds, formed an active part in this enterprise, which, during the century, kept London and the frontier, bishop and "savage native", in unbroken communication.

²⁷¹*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VIII, No. 3, September, 1939. This number includes, "The Colonial Background and Preparation," by Edgar Legare Pennington; "The State or Diocesan Conventions of the Critical Post-War Period," by Walter Herbert Stowe; "The Interstate or General Conventions of 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1789," by William Wilson Manross; "Constitutional Developments Since 1789," by Percy V. Norwood.

THE CHURCH IN INDIAN TERRITORY

By Alvin Scollay Hock

THE lands that were ceded to the Indians were called "Indian lands," "Indian country," or "Indian Territory." The name Indian Territory was accepted and recognized by the Government of the United States as applying to all the vast domain which was allotted to the Indians.¹ When it was first so designated in 1830, Indian Territory was more than three times the size of the present state of Oklahoma. After the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 it was approximately the size of the state of Oklahoma.² Indian Territory was at no time a territory over which the United States appointed governors and administered political affairs. The various tribes of Indians, in the section allotted to them, set up their own form of government.

At the time that Bishop Kemper was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of the Church, the term Indian Territory was used to designate all that "part of the United States west of the Mississippi not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana or the territory of Arkansas, and that part east" When we consider the way the term Indian Territory was used during the most of his active missionary work, and the statement he made when he resigned in 1859 that he had traveled partly through Kansas and Nebraska,³ we can state, that except perhaps for a small portion of the north-east part of the state, Bishop Kemper was never in Oklahoma.

It was in 1838 that a call was made for someone to go to Indian Territory.

"In August, 1838, the Domestic Committee advertised for a missionary to the 'Indian Territory.' Rev. Henry Gregory was appointed in November, 1838, and proceeded to the Territory with Bishop Kemper. He was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, the object of his proper duties at that missionary station being to

¹*The Public Domain*, Thomas Donaldson, Government Printing office, 1884, pages 458-459 and p. 729.

²*Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, Roy Gittinger, Univ. of California Press, 1917, pages 11 and 20.

³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 24, 1859, pp. 591-592, *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. 4, No. 3, September, 1935, p. 216.

Much of the material quoted from the *Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, 1899-1900, was compiled by the Rev. Franklin C. Smith who was the assistant editor of the *Churchman* at that time.

gain information relative to the Osages, Kansas and Delawares, and at a future time to enter on the charge of a mission among one of those tribes, 'should Providence open the way for the establishment of such a mission.'

"Mr. Gregory writes:

"Of one thing I may speak and that is the importance of doing all that, under the circumstances, can be done for the improvement of the tribes concentrated within the Indian Territory. Many thousands are already gathered there, and their number, in pursuance of the policy of the Government, will be constantly increasing for several years to come. What is to restrain the savage passions of rude barbarians, to check the strong desire for sweet revenge and keep so many restless and hostile tribes in peace with each other and the whites? What, but the blessed Gospel? I have never felt so strongly the importance of giving this vast Indian Population the means of improvement with all possible diligence, as since I have been in its vicinity"⁴

"The remnant of the Senecas, inhabiting a portion of country about ten miles square just beyond the southwestern corner of the state of Missouri, was originally from the 'Six Nations' of New York. After the Revolution, the Mohawks in a body retired to Canada, and were followed also by numbers from the other tribes. From Canada straggling families, two or three at a time, found their way into Ohio, and settled not far from Sandusky. In the summer of 1832 they emigrated to their present country, on the Cowskin, a branch of the Neosho or Grand River. They are composed of Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas and some Cayugas and Onondagas, and the descendants of these amalgamated. We found several who have relatives among the Oneidas of Green Bay (The Church mission in Wisconsin). While yet in Ohio this body of Indians was visited by Bishop Chase some ten or twelve years ago and he found members of them still cherishing their attachment to the faith and worship which they had received from the missionaries of the Society (in England) for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That Society had not only sent them missionaries at an early day (1702) but gave them the Liturgy and large portions of the Scriptures in their own tongue. By the aid of this Liturgy they continued the public worship of God after they were separated from their brethren in Canada. Among those who came from Ohio to their present country was Captain Powles, who acted as Lay Reader to a congregation of about sixty persons. It is said he became a Christian under the preaching of a famous Mohawk, Karihoga. Powles continued to officiate until his death, which is said to have occurred in the spring of 1833. His successor in the good work was George Hill; but after a time George fell sick, the number of worshippers was diminished by death and

⁴*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman, July, August, 1899, p. 4.*

otherwise and the public use of the Mohawk Prayer Book has not been resumed for the last two or three years. There are supposed to be still remaining some thirty or forty persons (reckoning young and old) who were accustomed to worship with Capt. Powles, and among them were mentioned two or three entire families of Mohawks. We found six persons, who, the interpreter assured us, could read the Mohawk language, and to each of them we presented one of the six Mohawk Prayer Books which we brought with us from New York. We made inquiries respecting the number of those who, professing to be attached to the Christian party, might remain still unbaptized, but the answer was not satisfactory. We inferred, however, that since the visit of Bishop Chase, who baptized several, some have been baptized by Methodist missionaries who have occasionally visited them.

"Their present condition is well calculated to awaken sympathy. We cannot but think that they might have been saved from the deterioration which they have experienced, had they received that attention from the more favored portion of their Christian brethren to which they were entitled. While at the agency, the Bishop, to our great delight, discovered the identical copy of the Mohawk Prayer Book which had been used by Capt. Powles in conducting the public worship. It was purchased. It is an octavo volume of 506 pages, neatly printed on good paper, well bound in leather and contains beside a frontispiece, eighteen copper-plate engravings representing scenes and incidents of Scripture history. From an entry on a blank leaf, it appears that this copy was 'presented by the Rev. W. Sparrow, Kenyon College, Worthington, O., to Capt. Powles on the 28th of April, 1827.'"⁵

"In June, 1844, at the order of the Board of Missions, the Secretary and General Agent, Rev. N. Sayre Harris, undertook a journey of exploration in the 'Indian Territory.' The report is very long and exhaustive. Besides the journal of their trip it contains statistical information regarding the Indians and a map of aboriginal America with the location of the Indian Tribes . . .

"Rev. Mr. Harris met Bishop Otey and they proceeded in the Indian Territory by way of the Choctaw nation . . ."⁶

"Bishop Otey was left at Fort Smith and Mr. Harris continued the journey alone, en route to Fort Gibson by steamer. On Easter Day he had the gratification of proclaiming the risen Saviour to his former brethren in the army. He made calls on some of the prominent Indians about the post and spent several days visiting and in conferences. He addressed a note to the principal chief, General McIntosh: "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, feeling a deep interest in the measures adopted or projected in the Indian Ter-

⁵*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, November, 1899, pp. 18-19.

⁶*Ibid.*, February, 1900, p. 37.

ritory for the extension of religion and learning, has directed the undersigned to make a visit to the territory with the view to ascertain in what way it can best co-operate in so good a work. Capt. Dawson had informed me how much you have at heart the best interest of the Creek nation and recommends me to address you on the subject of my mission . . . It has been presumed, that sending a Bishop to collect and form a Church from the Indian population, and relying upon a Church so formed to perpetuate and extend itself, would be most agreeable to you, as involving the least number of white men as its agents and of course the least possible occasion of offence on their part. The experiment has never yet been tried of an Indian Church, relying for its ministry, its catechists, its officers of every kind, with one exception, and that only till an Indian Bishop could be raised up to govern it, upon the materials found among you. The work might be slow, but would it not best accord with your views and feelings, with that proper national pride which desires its institutions, religious as well as civil, to be nourished from its own bosom.' He also made suggestions as to the schools and asked the General's influence for the consideration and furtherance of the views suggested."⁷

On December 9, 1838, Leonidas Polk, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Columbus, Tennessee, was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and Indian Territory. Bishop Polk was in the territory only three years. When he resigned in 1841 to go to the diocese of Louisiana, the territory was without a bishop for three years. In 1844 the General Convention elected the Reverend George Washington Freeman, D. D., missionary bishop

"to exercise Episcopal functions in the State of Arkansas and in the Indian Territory south of the 36½ parallel of latitude, and to exercise Episcopal supervision over the Missions of the Church in the Republic of Texas."⁸

"In 1844, the Rt. Rev. G. W. Freeman, D. D., was elevated to the Episcopate, his title being Missionary Bishop of the Southwest. In his report for 1845-'46 he speaks of a proposed visit with the Rev. Mr. Townsend to Fort Gibson and a tour of the Choctaw and Chickasaw countries, which was abandoned on account of disturbances in the Cherokee country.

"In 1848, a missionary writing of the missions in the West and speaking of the Indian Territory says: "With a commission for sending the teachings of the Gospel to every creature in the world, she has three ministers among the widespread multitudes of these western frontiers; two chaplains at military posts, whose line of duty excludes Indians; and one soli-

⁷*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, February, 1900, pp. 37-38.

⁸*Julia C. Emery, A Century of Endeavor*, p. 86.

tary missionary, like 'a sparrow on a house top' whose health is insecure, means exceedingly limited and whose anxieties are about equally divided between those around him who plead for the privileges of the Gospel with their expiring breath and the Church whose slumbering ear seems to be sealed against such appeals"⁹

"In 1848 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed the Secretary of the Board that the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation had recently applied for Manual Labor and Mission Schools, to be conducted among them by the Episcopal Church. The Secretary communicated their wish to Bishop Otey of Tennessee.

"Later this notice appears: The Government has intimated that it will advance \$6,000 towards erection of necessary buildings, etc., and that the further sum of \$6,000 will be annually expended for twenty years towards the education and support of Indian children at the school, at the rate of \$50 each per annum. The terms upon which this sum is offered, to be paid only from and after the reception of the pupils at the school, render it necessary that provision shall be made from some other source for the incipient expenses of the Mission. For these we must look to members of our Church, who shall be disposed to aid us, in availing ourselves of the most important and favorable opportunity which has ever been presented of establishing missions among the aborigines west of the Mississippi river"¹⁰

"Bishop Freeman comments in his 1848 report: It is painful to state that the proposed establishment of a Mission School within the jurisdiction of the Missionary Bishop of the Southwest has not met with the encouragement which its importance manifestly demands. Less than \$300 is the amount thus far received and this has been contributed, it is thought, chiefly by one individual in the state of South Carolina. Such an institution, judiciously conducted, would, under God, it is confidently believed, do more for the spread of the Gospel in the Church in the Southwest, than any other means that could possibly be devised by the wisdom of man.

"Bishop Otey writes: I look upon the proposition from the Chickasaw nation as a very important one and which ought by all means to meet with a prompt response from the Church. I have now with me a gentleman whom I shall ordain in a few days, that would suit admirably for such an enterprise as the one contemplated among the Chickasaws. I would cheerfully forego all the advantages to be gained by retaining the services of this gentleman in my own diocese, though I have occasion for all the help I can get."

"In March, 1849, the Domestic Committee gave formal notice that they had accepted the proposal made by the Government to establish the school. The plan for the school was out-

⁹*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman, February, 1900, p. 38.*

¹⁰*Ibid., March, 1900, p. 46.*

lined and its requirements stated and force of workers needed. The expense of the first year would be about \$3,500 and offerings were asked for the purpose.

"Various appeals were published for the Mission and discussion followed. In August, 1850, it was announced that owing to objectionable features in the contract with the Government that the plan was abandoned. The objectionable features were the control over the mission demanded by the Department inconsistent with the constitutional supervision of the Board of Missions over its missionaries."¹¹

In the year 1859 the Southwest Missionary District was erected. This included all parts of the United States not yet recognized as dioceses or missionary districts, south of the northern border of Cherokee County and New Mexico, as far as the eastern border of California, together with Arkansas. This large section comprised Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma (formerly Indian Territory; then Oklahoma and Indian Territory), and Arkansas. Henry Champlin Lay, Rector of the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, Alabama, was consecrated Bishop on October 23, 1859.

Little was accomplished in Indian Territory by the Episcopal Church. Why this church should have been so indifferent to the spread of the Kingdom of God in this new part of the country is one of the problems that continue to puzzle many Christian people. Other denominations had been actively at work long before the territory had been set apart. In the *Spirit of Missions*, April, 1863, The Domestic Committee, having made a survey of the field, reports, "In Indian Territory, southwest of Missouri, the society has no mission." Again in November and December, 1865, the Domestic Committee reports, "In relation to Indian Territory, as a field for Church Missions, the Committee has encouraging information." How can one account for this attitude? It is certain that the members of this committee, if they were at all sincere in their survey of the field, must have known that the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Congregational, the Methodist and other Christian Missionaries were already at work in the field. Thomas Nuttall in his book about his travels tells of meeting Rev. Epaphras Chapman, American Board of Missionaries, who in 1821 founded Union Mission. Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, a Presbyterian Missionary, was doing mission work among the Cherokees in 1835.

Henry Niles Pierce, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, was consecrated, January 25, 1870, Missionary Bishop of Arkan-

¹¹*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, April, 1900, p. 53.

sas with jurisdiction over Indian Territory. In the next year, 1871, the Missionary District of Indian Territory was erected.

Nothing was done in the district, however, until 1881. In his report for that year John D. Miles, Agent at the Cherokee-Arapahoe Agency, writes :

"The Rev. J. B. Wicks, representing the Episcopal Church at Paris, New York, arrived at the agency during the month of June, bringing with him, David Pendleton, (Making Medicine)" ¹²

Thus Wicks began over three years of consecrated, active, self-sacrificing service for the church. He tells something of his work and of that of David Pendleton (Oakerhater), one of the Indians who labored with him, in his reports and letters.

"Mr. Wicks is of such kind and agreeable manner as to impress the Indians very favorably with all his words and actions,"

reports Niles in 1881 and further states :

"The earnest, prayerful training given David Pendleton by the Rev. Mr. Wicks, at his home in New York, has qualified him for a noble work among his people, and it seems, more the ordering of the Great Head of the Church than of man, or chance, that Mr. Wicks, who did the training, or rather completed the training of the young man, should now be here to assist him in establishing the Cross of Christ among his people" ¹³

The work of Wicks and his assistants was sponsored by the Church in the Diocese of Central New York and not by the Board of the Domestic and Foreign Missions. Wicks, in an article in the Oklahoma and Indian Territory *Churchman*, tells something of the work that David Oakerhater did with the Indians that were sent to him from the old Fort San Marco, St. Augustine, Florida. He writes :

"In the Indian outbreak in the Southwest in 1874 the Cheyennes were concerned with several other tribes. They fought bravely but only to reap the reward of defeat and loss of lands and homes. At the close of the war the Government ordered ninety of the leading braves into confinement. They were separated from their tribes and imprisoned in old Fort San Marco at St. Augustine, Florida. They were placed in

¹²*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, p. 76.*

¹³*Ibid., 1881, p. 71.*

charge of Capt. Pratt an officer of the army. His instructions were to keep and feed and clothe them, until further orders. His own generous nature soon found the further orders. The Indian to him was a human being—of his own flesh and blood. He believed him capable of improvement. He believed him one whom Christ died to save. The savages put in his charge were the heathen come into his inheritance. With great wisdom and skill he drew them on to orderly habits. The older men were taught habits of cleanliness, to do some light kind of work and to observe a settled order of duties in their daily lives. The younger men were formed into a military company and drilled and disciplined regularly each day. They were given duty in the Fort and proved themselves faithful. The more intelligent were made sergeants of the company and at this juncture the good qualities of David first came into prominence. He was then about thirty years old, tall, straight as an arrow with a fine open countenance that would attract attention in any company. He soon won the respect and confidence of all. He was as gentle as he was faithful and his faithfulness was the proverb of the Fort. To his daily duties in the company and the Fort were soon added the pleasant but by no means light task of securing an education. At the end of three years he had made such progress in his studies and had acquired such a desire for further knowledge that he readily chose to remain at the East in company with some twenty others while the remainder were returned to their tribes. David, with three others, then became members of my family. Our home was in the pleasant village of Paris Hill in central New York where I had charge of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in that village. My charge consisted of five Indian men, two Cheyennes, one Kiowa and one Commanche [sic]. Each had some characteristic in which he excelled, though David easily led them all in strength and excellence of character. I found him diligent, studious, industrious and entirely trustworthy. I do not now recall a single instance in all my intimate relations with him for more than six years in which he acted from other than pure motives. He was uniformly cheerful and contented and quickly became a general favorite in the village. Bishop Huntington baptized the four men and a little later confirmed them. Two of them, David and Paul, made such progress that we soon saw they could be made of service as missionaries to their people. But to David fell the lot of some very sharp trials which no doubt contributed to his greater efficiency. The second year of his stay with me he was sent to his tribe to secure children for the new Indian school at Carlisle. He accomplished his mission and brought back with him his wife and little boy whom he had left when he was sent to the old Fort at St. Augustine. The woman was bright and intelligent but never at home in the new surroundings. The little boy quickly learned the language and ways of the whites and seemed quite happy, though both he

and his mother found little but sickness in their new home. Both died in the spring of '80 and are buried in the little cemetery of St. Paul's Paris Hill. It was a sad affliction to David and for a time he seemed stunned by the blow but we could see that it was the refining of the silver of character in the man's life. He was gentle and stronger and dearer to us all. At the end of the three years he, with Paul, passed the requisite examinations and was ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop Huntington in Grace Cathedral, Syracuse.

The next day we started for his home in the Southwestern part of the Indian territory, where for three years it was my privilege and great pleasure to see and know of his faithful work. My own immediate connection with the mission ceased at that time; but the friendship made in the six years (sic) of personal intercourse, has continued and is among the precious things of my experience. In the years that we were together there was not the slightest jar in the relation between us. David was ever gentle, patient, kind and true. I learned that I could trust him implicitly, and he never, so far as I knew, betrayed the trust."¹⁴

The report of 1881 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of P. B. Hunt, Indian Agent of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency at Anadarko, Indian Territory, tells of the arrival of Wicks with these Indian young men among them:

"On the 23 day of June the Rev. J. B. Wicks, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of Central New York, arrived at the agency, accompanied by two young Indian men, one a Kiowa, the other a Comanche, and who had been among those taken from this reservation in 1874 and incarcerated at Fort Madison, Florida, charged with having been engaged in the Indian out-break of that year."¹⁵

These two young men lived with Wicks. The Kiowa, Paul Zotom, was ordained deacon in the Church by the Bishop of Central New York. A noble hearted Christian woman of Syracuse, New York, who had paid for the education of these two Indians and of a Cheyenne, called David Pendleton Oakerhater, promised to build churches. Hunt, in his report, comments upon the fact that six years after their arrest and a little over three years after their release, Zotom and Oakerhater, who also suffered imprisonment with the Kiowa and Comanche, were ordained in the Episcopal Church.

Wicks in his report of 1882 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs tells something of his efforts to help the Indians under his charge:

¹⁴*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman, February, 1900, p. 36.*

¹⁵*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, p. 82.*

"Dear Sir: It seems scarcely a day since your request reached me to furnish a report of our missionary work for the year 1881. The year has been full of work . . . Services have been held quite regularly, and religious instructions given in the Indian camp and elsewhere as opportunity offered. Twenty-one in all have been baptized. We have built a new mission-house at a cost of more than \$1,500, and my family is to occupy it in September as a permanent home. David Pendleton, the native minister, has proved very faithful, and is steadily increasing his influence with his tribe. Our purpose during the ensuing year is to erect a church building near the mission-house and continue services as heretofore. The Cheyennes have received the mission cordially and with apparent sincerity . . . Greater school privileges would undoubtedly be largely improved . . . Friendships formed . . . relations established . . . the years are among the pleasantest of my experience . . ."¹⁶

In the report of 1883 he writes:

"Dear Sir: In response to your request . . . During the year services have been held and instructions given as regularly as circumstances would permit. Several of the Indian youths have been baptized, and at the Bishop's visit last fall 12 were confirmed. Not all of those confirmed have been equally faithful . . . The new church now building will soon be completed. It will be a neat and serviceable structure, seating from 175 to 200. It will cost when finished about \$1,200. I am received everywhere by the Indians with the utmost kindness. Last spring I visited them at their farms and was surprised to find them doing so much and such good work . . . Their fields . . . were well fenced and kept. We intend to go on during the coming year as we have done heretofore . . ."¹⁷

Hunt again in 1882 reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

"During the past year services were held every Sabbath in one or the other of the two school houses, but generally in Kiowa or Comanche. The services were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Wicks, until he left for the East and since that time by the superintendent of the school . . . The Rev. Mr. Wicks, of the Episcopal Church, has been laboring during the entire year among the Indians of this and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, dividing his time between the two. Much good has already been done, and the outlook is thought to be very encouraging, indeed so promising is the field that the church represented by Mr. Wicks, has, I understand, determined to open a regular mission, and Mr. Wicks has been for several months past in the East, perfecting his plans and preparing to enter

¹⁶*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, p. 63.*

¹⁷*Ibid., 1883, p. 73.*

actively into building up a permanent Christian work among these people. It is intended to place others in the field to assist Mr. Wicks, and he will have besides the assistance of several young Indian men who have been educated in the East, some of them by himself, especially for this work. The church of Central New York has become much interested in the mission . . . Bishop Pierce, of Arkansas, feels greatly interested in the work, and promises to visit the agency next winter, and if possible add to the force now at work."¹⁸

In another report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1884 he writes:

"The Rev. J. B. Wicks, who for three years past has been laboring as a missionary among the Indians of this and the Cheyenne Agency, made his home at this agency during the past year. A neat church building has been erected at the agency and services held every Sunday. The Rev. Mr. Wicks represents the Episcopalians of the Central Diocese of New York and the church was built by funds contributed by that church."¹⁹

The Rev. J. J. Methvin in his book, *In the Limelight*, tells something more about this church that Wicks built:

"The church of which mention is made above, which Mr. Wicks built at Anadarko, was first erected by him at Fort Sill. He bought an old house there of Mr. C. A. Cleveland, who was at that time working with Mr. Evans, the Indian trader. Mr. Wicks wrecked the building and used the lumber for the church. After the two agencies were consolidated, and the Indian affairs all centralized at Anadarko, Mr. Wicks had this church moved to Anadarko, and located convenient to the agency people near where now the old commissary building stands. Here it stood for years and was used by any minister, who should care to preach there. It was used chiefly for religious services for the whites. After the opening of new Anadarko, this house was again moved, and this time settled on the corner of Fifth Street and Central Boulevard, opposite the Christian Church, and served as a place for the Episcopalians for a number of years. But its itinerary was not done, for several years ago the Episcopalians retired from Anadarko and sold the house to the trustees of the (Methodist) M. E. Church. It was then removed to the rear of the Methodist Church, and there it stands as the 'Methodist Playhouse.' The indications are that its itinerary is not yet finished."²⁰

¹⁸*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, p. 71.*

¹⁹*Ibid., 1884, p. 81.*

²⁰*Rev. J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, p. 86.*

When Wicks' health failed in 1885, and he was compelled to relinquish his work, Hunt writes:

"The health of the Rev. Mr. Wicks having failed, he was compelled to give up the work to which he had been appointed by the Episcopal Church, and since he left no one has been sent out to take his place. The field has not been abandoned, but a lay reader has read the service every Sabbath in the church, and as soon as it can be done another missionary will be put into the work."²¹

In what better manner can the story of Wicks' work to help the Indians and show them a more excellent way be concluded than to add the report of Captain J. W. Lee, Indian Agent, regarding the faithfulness of David Pendleton (Oakerhater):

"I must note that David Pendleton, full blood Cheyenne, is a deacon of the Episcopal Church. He does good and faithful work to the utmost of his ability. The church has no other representative on this reservation so engaged."²²

The editors of the *Oklahoma Churchman* in the issue of October and November of 1892 tell of their visit to Anadarko and its vicinity:

"The missionaries, wishing to acquaint themselves with as much of the field of labor as possible, made a trip to the agency of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, located at Anadarko, Ind. Ter. They found the work which had started out so favorably some few years ago practically abandoned. We have a neat little chapel at the agency, but it is going to pieces, having no one to look after it. Our Indian deacon, Paul Zotom, not having influence and godly advice of a white missionary to support him and encourage him, is doing nothing to build up his red brethren in Christ. We have about thirty Indians belonging to both tribes who are nominally churchmen, besides about ten white communicants, who are traders or belong to the agency. We are praying for a revival of this grand work among our red brethren, and we trust the time is not far distant when we will have missionaries and schools at the agencies of the different tribes which are located in the Indian Territory."²³

Bishop Francis Key Brooke refers to the church built by Wicks as "the only other church building in the missionary district belonging to the Church besides our church in Guthrie." He visited Anadarko on August 9, 1894, and in his Journal of that date writes:

²¹*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885, p. 87.*

²²*Ibid., 1886, p. 121.*

²³*The Oklahoma Churchman, October and November, 1892.*

"These services were held in our little chapel which I found in good repair. Anadarko is both a pleasant and a painful place to visit. Pleasant because good congregations always welcome my visits and give hearty services, sad because I am always confronted by the lost opportunity here. Some years ago we had the beginning of a good work among the Indians here but was abandoned some years before I came into the Territory. Now the ground is fully occupied. Five denominational schools are maintained at or near the agency. But we have some loyal, good church people here. I am always glad to serve them."²⁴

Another effort was made to establish a work about twenty-five miles northeast of what is now the city of Vinita, Oklahoma. Nothing remains, however, either of the town or the efforts of the missionary, C. M. Campbell, who writes of his work as follows:

"The end of the month of August, found me at Vinita and on the 6th of September, 1885, a Sunday School was organized at Prairie City, Indian Territory, a little settlement on the San Francisco and St. Louis R. R., in the Cherokee nation, about twenty-five miles to the east.

A blacksmith's shop, two stores and perhaps a half dozen dwellings made up the village proper. One of the last of which kindly gave us shelter for my wife and I were left on the prairie literally without a roof to cover our heads, as there was no depot at Prairie City, only a platform beside the track, which swept away across the prairie and disappeared in the distance.

The school opened with eleven scholars which number soon increased to forty or fifty and for the most part was well attended. Though slow themselves, to receive the "Glad Tidings," these people were always ready to have their children learn whatever we were willing to teach. This truly was the hope of the Mission.

Though still a lay reader and a candidate for Orders in the Diocese of West Virginia, I conducted the first service of the Church in that section of the Territory on Sunday morning, Sept. 20, 1885, in the home of Mr. Percy Walker, with a congregation numbering upwards of fifty souls; and it was really surprising with what readiness these people used the Prayer Book for the first time, most of them never having seen or heard of it before.

I opened a day school on the 8th of September in a little log cabin some distance away. It had been thought that the Nation would build a school house and appoint a teacher; but being slow to act, the people themselves took the matter in hand and by October they had put up a comfortable building and the school was then moved to nearer and better quar-

²⁴*The Oklahoma Churchman, September, 1894.*

ters. This room was always used for Sunday school and Church services, which were regularly maintained each Sunday.

On the 7th of October a Ladies Sewing Society was organized, which afterward did much faithful work, both in helping the destitute and unfortunate in the neighborhood and in fitting up the school house for Church and Sunday School purposes. The efforts of this Society resulted in securing \$80 for an organ and \$12 for a stove, besides a lectern and a number of other minor furnishings and supplies. And a distant friend gave \$6 for lamps, which were speedily placed in position.

Our hearts were rejoiced by a visit from Bishop Pierce, recently gone to his rest, who came to us Feb. 12, 1886. He remained until the 17th, preaching every night, except the first, and twice on Sunday the 14th. In the morning he administered the Holy Communion, the first my wife and I were privileged to receive since leaving the East. On the 15th he baptized five, and on the 16th two children. We were much strengthened and comforted by his eloquent words, his sound advice and his godly counsels, and were very loath to see him depart. This was his first visit to Prairie City, and proved to be his last during my connection with St. John's Mission.

In April, with my wife, I returned to West Virginia, and on the 17th day of May was ordained deacon in St. John's Church, Charleston, by Bishop Peterkin. After a visit to Mrs. Campbell's old home in Virginia, we started west again and reached Prairie City on June 10th, refreshed and encouraged by our visit home.

During the summer and fall of 1886 the services and Sunday School were largely attended; and on Aug. 29th I baptized two little children and one adult. Two large lots were secured in Mr. Percy Walker's name for Church and school purposes; and later I fenced them in, but we were unable to erect any buildings. I never learned what became of these lots, but presume they were held by Mr. Walker, as they had not been formally turned over to the Mission by the Nation. From November 17th to 22nd, I visited Muskogee, preaching once in the Methodist and three times in the Presbyterian Church; and in the afternoon of the 20th conducted a funeral in the latter. An earnest, faithful man at Muskogee could have accomplished much good at this time, under the blessing of God. But it was too far removed from St. John's Mission to be reached from there with any degree of regularity, though it was always my desire to return and establish a mission, and I should have done so if the necessary expense could have been provided for. But having at first come to the Territory entirely at my own charges, and being possessed of very little means, it was necessary to confine our labors to the one field, though the Central Board had by this time given what assistance they could, which afforded, however, but a partial support.

Indeed, it was for this reason the work was finally abandoned by me. For, much as I regretted it, when my own private funds were exhausted, and the Board could no longer keep up its appropriation (it will be remembered that year all missionary stipends were reduced) it became necessary to return to the East, and accordingly on the 7th of February, 1887, after bidding a sad farewell to our hosts of friends in whose lives and welfare we had become deeply interested and praying God's blessing upon them, we started back for West Virginia, in which diocese I have since been engaged in missionary work.

On January 21, 1887, I married a full blood Delaware Indian and a white girl; on the 30th baptized an adult; on the 31st an infant, and on the morning of Feb. 6th preached my last sermon at St. John's Mission, Prairie City, and in the afternoon baptized an infant. Several were ready for Confirmation by this time, could the presence of the Bishop have been secured.

Thus ended a service of seventeen months in the Indian Territory, chiefly spent in sowing seed, which I trust and pray has yielded some fruit somewhere, in the years that have followed."²⁵

James Owen Dorsey, a missionary of the Episcopal Church in 1882-83, spent some time among the Osage and other Indian tribes, who spoke a dialect related to that of the Ponkas and Omahas in Indian Territory. Dorsey was born in Baltimore, Maryland, October 31, 1848. At the age of six he learned the Hebrew language, and at the age of eleven read Hebrew with facility. In 1869 he graduated from the Theological Seminary of Virginia and was ordained a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1871. He was sent immediately as a missionary to work among the Ponka Indians in Dakota Territory. He became interested in the language of the Ponkas and began to study the different dialects. On account of ill-health he was compelled to give up his missionary work in Dakota and returned to parish work in Maryland. When the Bureau of Ethnology was organized in 1879 he was chosen as a member of one of the scientific corps. His profound knowledge of the dialects of the Siouan language attracted the attention of Major J. W. Powell, who had him sent among the Omaha tribes. He remained with them until 1880. In 1882 he went to Indian Territory and lived among the Osage Indians, studying the dialects. While there he was made a member of the "Order of the Dove," an honor conferred upon few white men. An epidemic of smallpox forced him to leave in 1883. He returned to Washington, D. C., where he made his

²⁵*Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman, September, 1900, pp. 14-15.*

home until his death in 1895. A large part of his voluminous writings has been collected in the Reports of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. He made valuable contributions to the knowledge of the languages and folk-lore of the Indians.²⁶

Although the labors of these missionaries left no tangible results, there remained an impulse toward Christian culture in the lives of those with whom they had come in contact. Oakerhater, the Indian deacon, carried on his work as effectively as he could and as long as he was physically able. The influence of his character continued long after his physical effectiveness had waned.

²⁶*Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1898, passim.*

An account of the work of the Rev. J. B. Wicks in Indian Territory appeared in The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dec., 1934. Vol. 3, no. 4. This article first appeared in the Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman for July, 1900.

WILLIAM STURGEON, CATECHIST TO THE NEGROES OF
PHILADELPHIA AND ASSISTANT RECTOR
OF CHRIST CHURCH, 1747-1766

By Richard I. Shelling

IN November of 1745 the Reverend Dr. Robert Jenney, the Rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia, wrote to the Reverend Dr. Philip Bearcroft, Secretary of *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, a lengthy letter in which he implored the Society to grant him a catechist. Dr. Jenney was much concerned about Philadelphia being "infested with Popery & systematical [sic] divisions among the Protestant Inhabitants," and he expressed the opinion that the assistance of a catechist would greatly help to check such influences. Moreover, he found his labors in the parish becoming too great for one man, especially one of his age. Furthermore, in order to impress the Society with the need of an assistant, he stressed the missionary work which might be done by a catechist among the Negroes of the city who had "a disposition to Religion," and, he added, "I have baptized many & never administer the Lord's Supper (every month) without several of them [present] & many run after the Vagrant Factious Preachers, who I am satisfied would keep steady to the Church if properly instructed."¹

To this most urgent and earnest request a reply was made in April of 1746, stating that the Society had resolved to settle a "Catechetical Lecture in y^r Ch . . . for the instruction of Negroes and others with a Salary of £30 p. annum," but as no suitable person could be found in England it was suggested that Dr. Jenney seek his own man among those of the Church of England who lived in the New England colonies.²

The matter being left in his hands, he corresponded, having had his vestry's consent, with several colleagues in the colonies to the north.

¹Jenney to Bearcroft, Phila., Nov. 14, 1745, SPG. MSS. (Library of Congress Transcripts) B 12, no. 39. Dr. Jenney was Rector of Christ Church from 1742-1762; and Bearcroft the Society's (known in the abbreviated form as S. P. G.) Secretary from 1739-1761. All dates 1745-1752 were Old Style, as the Julian calendar was still in use in England. Consequently to place the date under one to correspond with the present calendar eleven days must be added, e. g., Nov. 14 O. S. becomes Nov. 25 N. S. The reference numbers are those of the original SPG. MSS., and not those of the Library of Congress Transcripts.

At least three S. P. G. missionaries recommended to him as a worthy candidate to the office of catechist, Mr. William Sturgeon of Connecticut. Each man recommended Sturgeon very highly and on December 6, 1746, Dr. Jenney placed his name before the vestry.³

William Sturgeon, born in England about 1722, was the son of the Rev. Robert Sturgeon, a dissenting minister. When a young man he attended Yale College and was graduated with the degree of B. A. in May, 1745, fourth in a class of twenty-seven. Little is known about his student life, but so far as his conduct was concerned, he seems to have been above reproach. The year following his graduation he successfully taught school about three miles from Rye in New York. It was here that he conformed to the Church of England and received Holy Communion from the Rev. James Wetmore, Rector at Rye.⁴

Some time in 1746 Sturgeon went to Philadelphia to interview Dr. Jenney and the Vestry of Christ Church. They were well pleased with him, and on January 14, 1747, wrote to the S. P. G. thanking that body for granting them the permission to select a suitable candidate for catechist, stating that they had chosen "a young Gentleman one William Sturgeon of Yale College [sic] in Connecticut." They recommended him to the Society and asked that "he may at the same time officiate as Assistant to the Rector for the [time] being."⁵

It was necessary, at this time, for those aspiring to positions in the Church of England to go to London to be ordained by the Bishop of London. With letters from the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, the Rev. James Wetmore, and the Rev. Dr. Robert Jenney, Sturgeon sailed to England in early 1747. There he was very kindly received by the Honorable Society, the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, and the Bishops of Gloucester and Oxford. It was about June 20 that he received his orders, and some time during the summer of 1747 he returned to Philadelphia.

²*Bearcroft to Jenney, London, Charterhouse, April 8, 1746, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B 15, no. 212.*

³*These men were Henry Barclay of New York City; Dr. Samuel Johnson, President of King's College; and the Rev. James Wetmore of Rye, New York. See respectively, Jenney to Bearcroft, Phila., Jan. 13, 1747, SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B 14, no. 185; Johnson to Bearcroft, Stratford, Conn., Feb. 10, 1747, Ibid., no. 23; Wetmore to Bearcroft, Rye, N. Y., Feb. 11, 1747, Ibid., no. 113; and Benjamin Dorr, A Historical Account of Christ Church Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1841), p. 90.*

⁴*His father, of Scotch-Irish descent, was a Congregational minister in Norwalk, Connecticut, from 1726-1732, and from 1732 to 1743 he acted as a Presbyterian minister in Bedford, New York. See Franklin B. Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals: Biographical sketches of the graduates of Yale College; with annals of the college history. (6 vols., N. Y., 1885-1912), II, (May, 1745-May, 1763), p. 61.*

⁵*The Churchwardens and Vestry of Christ Church to the Society, Phila., Jan. 18, 1747. SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. no. 15, 154-155. Read before the Society, May 11, 1747.*

bearing the appointment as catechist to the Negroes and as assistant to Dr. Jenney. For his services he was to be paid £30 from the Society, and Dr. Bearcroft asked Christ Church to make "such an addition . . . as may be [a] comfortable & decent Maintenance."⁶

The Reverend Mr. Sturgeon entered upon his duties on October 30, 1747. He seems to have been very diligent in carrying on his missionary work and in assisting Dr. Jenney. Several letters were evidently written to the Society giving an account of his work, but most of them were apparently lost in transit. However, in a letter dated July 30, 1748, he writes:

As Soon as Possible I began to catechize the White Children on Friday, and the Negroes on Sunday at the End of the Evening Service: and I continue So to do, and as far as I can judge, it has a good Effect, especially amongst the Negroes, three of them who attend constantly, desired Baptism, and having Dr. Jenney's Approbation, I examined, and baptized them in the Church—And I hope in Time to be able to inform The Hon^{ble} Society of good Success amongst them, for I use all Diligence in Teaching them the Principles of the Christian Religion.

In a letter to Dr. Bearcroft, of the same date, Dr. Jenney highly praised Sturgeon.⁷

It was not until April, 1749, that the Churchwardens and Vestry of Christ Church wrote to the Society. The delay was ascribed to their financial difficulties which made it impossible earlier to report what remuneration could be made to Mr. Sturgeon. They were still in debt and Sturgeon had agreed to wait until a definite agreement was reached. The Vestry wrote: "Mr. Sturgeon has render'd himself agreeable [sic] to the Congregation & considering his Youth, & the stinted Education given in the American Colledges [sic],⁸ he discharges extremely well the

⁶*Wetmore to Bearcroft, op. cit.; Bearcroft to Jenney, London, Charterhouse, May 28, 1747, SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 15, no. 217; Bearcroft to Churchwardens and Vestry of Christ Church, same place and date, Ibid.; Dorr, op. cit., 93; Herbert W. and Carol Schneider eds., Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings (4 vols. New York, 1929), I, 130; and W. S. Perry, Historical Collection Relating to the American Colonial Church (5 vols. Hartford, 1870-1878), II, Pa., note on p. 536 and pp. 250-251. Sturgeon was licensed to Pennsylvania by the Bishop of London, June 20, 1747. See, "Collections of the Epis. Historical Society", Vol. I, p. 117.*

⁷*For date of acceptance by Christ Church see Dorr, op. cit., 39; Sturgeon to Bearcroft, Phila., July 30, 1748, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 16, no. 104; and Jenney to Bearcroft, same date, Ibid., 106; and of October 18, 1748, Ibid., 111.*

⁸*One of Sturgeon's greatest handicaps in gaining and holding the respect of his Church colleagues and parishioners was his American education. Many of the S. P. G. missionaries were educated in the great English universities and a few in those of Scotland. Yale, Harvard, and King's College were considered far inferior. See letter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson to Bearcroft, Stratford, Conn., Feb. 10, 1746, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 14, 23.*

Offices of his Function” They were now to report that Dr. Jenney had agreed to share half of his “perquisites,” which amounted to £33 & 15s, and the Congregation, by voluntary contribution added £60. Moreover it was hoped “that this will be annually rais’d for him and perhaps a larger Sum as he comes to be more intimately acquainted with the People.” Dr. Jenney too was concerned about his catechist getting a decent remuneration, and asked the Society to give him a salary equal to that of the catechist in New York.⁹

At the close of April, 1749, Sturgeon wrote a letter to the Society in which he told about the receipt of the perquisites, the donation from the congregation, and mentions drawing a bill of exchange on the Society for a year’s salary “due me from the Hon^{ble} Society last Lady-Day.” His work in so large a cure took much of his time, but he did not neglect his work among the Negroes every Sunday night. After teaching them the Catechism, he read to them a “plain Lecture on Several Parts of our Admirable Catechism which I endeavour to adapt to their Capacities and the Gradual Improvement which I observe they make.” He reported that fifty Negroes attended the service and sometimes a “tolerable Audience of the lower Sort of the Congregation.” The letter was ended with a request for Bibles, short plain treatises, and Common Prayer Books.¹⁰

The Society was very much pleased with the services he performed and out of gratitude for his zeal and industry gave him an additional £10. The request for Bibles, Common Prayer Books and other needed literature was also acceded to. But the literature was not received until the summer of 1750 and in a letter of April 6, Sturgeon informed the Society that he had despaired of receiving any and, consequently, had purchased “a quantity of Lewis’s Catechism.”¹¹

In late July he again wrote to the Society, thanking them for the ten pounds, relating that the affairs of the Congregation remained much the same as when he had written last, and expressing appreciation for the kindness of Dr. Jenney and the Vestry. He reported that he was still “catechising and instructing the Negroes in the true principles of Christianity, and I earnestly desire your Advice to help me forward

⁹*Churchwardens and Vestry of Christ Church to Bearcroft, Philadelphia, April 25, 1749. SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 17, no. 145; Jenney to Bearcroft, Phila., April 27, 1749, Ibid., 146. The New York catechist received £50 per annum.*

¹⁰*Sturgeon to Bearcroft, Phila., April 29, 1749, SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 17, no. 147. About four months later, September 3, 1749, Sturgeon married Hannah Denormadie, a young lady about 23 years of age. She was a woman of singular piety and good humor. To them were born a number of children, none of whom seem to have reached maturity. See Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Marriages, 1709-1800, III, 4144; also in same collection, Baptisms, 1709-1768, I, 432, 445, 382; and Burials V, passim.*

in that great work." It was also in this summer that he made a trip into Lancaster county where he preached "to a large Congregation, and baptized more than thirty children."¹² Later in the summer he again visited Lancaster, and as their minister, the Rev. Mr. Locke, had moved to Radnor, the people of their parish requested the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon to remain with them. He was not averse to such a move and asked the will of the Society, stating, "I verily believe that, with Blessing of Almighty God, I can be more Serviceable to the Church there than in this City"¹³

During the next year there is no mention of going to Lancaster. The affairs of Christ Church seem to have improved and made increasing demands upon his time. In 1751 the Congregation was busily raising money to build a steeple to the church and to purchase a set of bells. Dr. Jenney, however, was industriously trying to fill vacancies and Sturgeon mentions having been sent to Lancaster, though he does not express any further desire to settle there.¹⁴

He faithfully performed his work as catechist to the Negroes, in 1752 beginning to lecture to them in the Church rather than in the schoolhouse as formerly. He baptized several (about nine) Negro adults and possibly an equal number of Negro children.¹⁵ Letters for the next two years may have been lost in transit. At least it is not until October 19, 1754, that another reference to the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon's work is made. A letter of that date to him from the Society again reveals that his services have been most satisfactory and worthy of financial commendations.¹⁶

Four years later a most interesting new duty was assigned to Sturgeon. On Wednesday, April 5, 1758, the Dr. Bray Associates meeting at the Southsea Coffee House in London, resolved to set up a school for Negro children in Philadelphia. They consulted with Dr. Franklin, who was then in London, about the expediency of such an undertaking and also asked his advice as to a proper person to be intrusted with

¹¹*Bearcroft to Sturgeon, London, March 28, 1750, SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 18, no. 220. Also Sturgeon to Bearcroft, Phila., April 6, 1750, Ibid., no. 152.*

¹²*Sturgeon to Bearcroft, Phila., July 25, 1750, Ibid., no. 153.*

¹³*Id. to Id., Nov. 16, 1750; op. cit., B. 19, no. 107.*

¹⁴*Id. to Id., April 26, 1751, Ibid., no. 106.*

¹⁵*Id. to Id., March 26, 1752 and Nov. 20, 1752, op. cit., B. 20, no. 113, no. 114. He does not give accurate figures—at least one is inclined to believe that the figures given in the second letter are merely a restatement of the earlier letter, with possible a few additions.*

¹⁶*Dorr, op. cit., 107. Here there is a four year hiatus, 1754-1758. The only reference found for this period appears in Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog. X, 356 and relates to a marriage performed by Sturgeon. "Codd-Fish-Sturgeon. In the Record of Marriages of Christ Church, under date of March 5, 1756, will be found that John Codd & Mary Fish, the ceremony being performed by Rev. Wm. Sturgeon."*

the care and superintendency of such a school. Franklin recommended the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon,, and John Waring, the Associates' secretary, was given orders to write to Sturgeon, telling him that they proposed to give such a school a trial for three years. He was also requested by Mr. Waring to "agree with a proper person, Master or Mistress upon the Best Terms [possible], but not to exceed twenty pounds Sterling a year."¹⁷

The Rev. Mr. Waring wrote on March 2, and to his letter Sturgeon replied on Nov. 9, 1758. In it he said that he had engaged a woman, of some experience in teaching school, to take charge of the work, but as the books had not arrived until October, no definite steps had been taken, though things were in shape for beginning within a few days. He assured the Associates that she would "execute the Trust with Fidelity . . . to teach 30 Children, the Boys to read, and the Girls to read, Sew, knit and mark; and to attend at Church with them every Wednesday and Friday; and that all her endeavours are to be directed towards making them Christians. The lowest Salary she will accept is £20 Sterling a Year, to be drawn for half yearly, from the Time She opens the School."¹⁸ Thus began the first attempt to give the Negroes education beyond that which was needed for admitting them into Communion. It was the hope, expressed by Dr. Franklin before the Associates, that the undertaking if "not attended with ill Consequences usually apprehended it might be encouraged by the Inhabitants in General & the Example followed in the other Colonies."¹⁹

The school was opened on November 20, 1758, and in June, 1759, there were thirty-six pupils attending regularly. Though several were quite young they made good progress.²⁰ Mrs. Franklin attended the school and wrote to her husband in London, that the pupils "answered very prettily indeed . . . [and] all behaved very decently . . . It gave me a great deal of Pleasure, and I shall send Othello to the school."²¹

¹⁷MSS. of Dr. Bray Associates, *Minute Book, 1735-1768, I, 114* (L. C. Photo-film enlargements). See also p. 112 under date February 1, 1758, when the matter was first considered. For an account of Franklin's activities as a member of the Dr. Bray Associates see the author's article in "The Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.," XLIII, pp. 282-293.

¹⁸Bray MSS., *American Correspondence: 1742-1763*, (L. C. Photo-film Enlargements) Sturgeon to J. Waring, Phila., Nov. 9, 1758. See Bray *Minute Book*, op. cit., 120.

¹⁹Same as note 17.

²⁰Bray *Minute Book*, op. cit., 124, under date Sept. 5, 1759; letter from Sturgeon dated June 12, 1759. The Associates meeting at the "Angel", Ave Mary Lane, London.

²¹Ibid., 127, under date of Dec., 1759. Mrs. Franklin's letter dated Aug. 9, 1759.

In the meantime things were not going very smoothly in Philadelphia, and the reverberations affected Christ Church. The Rev. Dr. William Smith, head of the College of Philadelphia, by taking part in political affairs created a great public sensation. He came to the defense of a certain Judge Moore, of Chester County, who had officially given umbrage to the legislature, and for his trouble he and Moore were arraigned before the Assembly and imprisoned for contempt.²² As Smith had been connected rather actively with the affairs of Christ Church, his conduct resulted in driving some folks from the congregation. This unpleasant episode and Smith's earlier activities in the church caused some alarm to Dr. Jenney and the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon. Consequently, when Smith, in order to redress his grievances, returned to England, Sturgeon, afraid that he might attempt something to his disadvantage, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, justifying his own conduct, for he contended that during the "unavoidable dispute I have endeavoured to act such a part as I could justify to my God, my king and to every honest impartial Man, and as becomes a Minister in the Church of England."²³

Early in 1759 the Wardens of Christ Church wrote to the Bishop of London, telling him of the illness of Dr. Jenney during the last two years and assuring him that though the assistant, the Rev. William Sturgeon, did all possible to carry on the ministerial duties, the work was too great, and they prayed that they be given another minister. They requested that his Lordship have Mr. Jacob Duché, Jr., then at Claire Hall, Cambridge, admitted to orders and have him licensed as assistant minister in the church at Philadelphia.²⁴

It was later in the same spring of 1759 that there came into the city from New England the Rev. William McClennachan. He sensed the schism in Christ Church, and after Dr. Smith left for London began to ingratiate himself with the congregation and church officers. Around this man there was to center much controversy, but on June 19 the

²²John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in Olden Times* (Philadelphia, 1840), 416-417. Also see article by the Hon. W. R. Riddell, "Echo in Canada of the Imprisonment by the Assembly of Pennsylvania of Provost, the Reverend William Smith, in 1858," *Penna. Mag. of History & Biography*, LV, 280.

²³Lambeth Palace MSS. (L. C. T.) 1123, II, 149; Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 268-269. Later in 1759, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a reply to Sturgeon's letter assures him and Dr. Jenney, that the Rev. Dr. Smith in his stay at London said nothing to their disadvantage. See Jenney and Sturgeon to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 28, 1759, *Ibid.*, 157, Cf. *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith*, ed. by Horace W. Smith (2 vols., Phila., 1880), I, p. 221 and pp. 231-232.

²⁴Dorr, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-118 under date of February 7, 1759.

Vestry made him assistant to Dr. Jenney without that worthy man's approval, and much to the chagrin of Sturgeon.²⁵

That fall Sturgeon again reported to Dr. Bray Associates on the progress of the Negro school. There were in attendance eleven boys and twenty-nine girls, and of the latter fifteen were learning to sew. All the pupils had made improvement in their reading and spiritual development. He expressed the opinion that the welfare of the school could be considerably improved if the Associates would grant authority to the "Churchwardens of the Time being . . . [to exercise] the Care and Government of it."²⁶

By the next spring the long bitter controversies which had faced Christ Church were settled by the Bishop of London. McClennachan was disposed of, Sturgeon and Duché were settled as the proper assistants to Dr. Jenney, and Dr. Smith had re-established himself in the good graces of the congregation.²⁷ The Rev. Mr. McClennachan, however, remained in Philadelphia, preaching in the State House while his friends, "composed of Quakers, New Lights, and Baptists," collected money to build him a "ranting Place."²⁸

On September 4, 1761, St. Peter's Church was opened. The Rev. Richard Peters, formerly an assistant in Christ Church, but then the Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, was asked to preach the dedicatory sermon. The pressure of business, however, reluctantly made him refuse, and his place was taken by the Rev. Dr. Smith. A splendid and most appropriate ceremony took place. Sturgeon played an important role, too, for he officially represented Dr. Jenney, who was too feeble to take a part.²⁹

Early in January, 1762, Dr. Jenney died at the age of seventy-five, and he was buried in Christ Church on January 10. He had spent fifty-two years in the ministry, and more than nineteen years as rector of Christ Church. His had been a long and faithful rectorship, during times

²⁵*Lambeth Palace MSS., (L. C. T.) 147, the Vestry to Archbishop of Canterbury, Phila., Oct. 3, 1759. For a record of McClennachan's checkered career see Lambeth MSS., 1123 II, no. 200-201.*

²⁶*Sturgeon to Waring, Nov. 25, 1759. Bray MSS. American Correspondence, 1742-1768 (L. C. Photo-Film Enl.)*

²⁷*Dr. Samuel Nicolls to Rector, Assistant Ministers, Churchwardens and Vestry of Christ's Church, London, March 25, 1760. Lambeth Palace MSS. (L. C. T.) II, 174.*

²⁸*Letters from the Rev. Hugh Neill and Sturgeon to Bearcroft, dated Oxford, Pa., June 26, 1760; and two from Philadelphia, July 2, 1760 and Aug. 31, 1761 respectively. SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 21, Pt. I, no. 111 and Pt. II, no. 276 and 277. Started later St. Paul's Church.*

²⁹*Christ Church, Vestry Minutes (March, 1761-April, 1784), pp. 9-15. August 19-June 8, 1762. Dorr, op. cit., p. 130. For a very excellent account of St. Peter's Church see C. P. B. Jefferys, "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783." The Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., XLVII, 328-356; XLVIII, 38-65; 181-192; 251-269; 354-371.*

of adversity, and there can be no question but that for fourteen years Sturgeon had been a sustaining colleague. The Vestry were now confronted with the problem of finding a suitable successor, but their first official action was taken on January 16, when it was resolved that Sturgeon and Duché be requested to officiate as ministers of St. Peter's and Christ Churches, during their pleasure.³⁰ It was also resolved to pay each man £200 currency, to begin January 10, 1762, but £45 was to be deducted from Duché's salary for house rent and from Sturgeon's, £50, the amount he received as a salary from the S. P. G.³¹ The Vestry also addressed letters to the Bishop of London, requesting him to license Sturgeon and Duché as ministers of the United Congregations.³² They highly commended Duché, but we are interested in the letter devoted to Sturgeon, dated June 8, 1762. In part it reads:

. . . Relying upon your Lordship's well known Goodness and Candour, permit us to recommend to your Favour and Patronage, the Reverend Mr. William Sturgeon, who hath for about fifteen Years past, steadily exercised his Function among us as a Priest, and Assistant Minister, in our Church, and hath during the whole Time conducted himself with sobriety and unwearied Diligence, and to the utmost of his Ability, hath regularly, and Constantly performed all Parts of his Ministerial Office in this Extensive Cure, with Care and Alacrity; And we trust will continue to be a useful and industrious Minister, and give Satisfaction to all Denominations of Men among Us; . . . here, and in our Service, he hath spent the prime of his Life.³³

Sturgeon, too, wrote, June 29, 1762, to the Bishop of London, asking that he be licensed as one of the ministers of the United Congregations, stating that he had long ago become accustomed "to the Place, formed Such Connexions, and have six children to be educated [sic] and introduced into the World, that it would be greatly to my Disadvantage, if not the Ruin of my Family, to remove to a distant Part."³⁴

On June 8, 1762, Duché was granted a leave of absence to go to London for orders. On September 12 he was ordained, and the next day he set out for Falmouth, reaching there after a trip of forty-eight hours. The packet was ready to sail, but the winds were contrary, and it was not until October 1 that he embarked. It was November 28, when he disembarked at New York, "after a tedious, turbulent Passage

³⁰*Christ Church, Vestry Minutes*, 15.

³¹*Ibid.*, 24.

³²*Ibid.*, 21-23. Also see *Sturgeon to Burton, SPG (L. C. T.) B. 21, Pt. II*, 278 and *Perry, op. cit.*, II, 341.

³³*Vestry Minutes*, 26-27; also *Fulham Palace, MSS. (Pa.) (L. C. T.) 23*.

³⁴*Fulham Palace, MSS. op. cit.*, 213.

of 8 Weeks." It was the next evening that he arrived at his home in Philadelphia, astonishing his friends at his speedy voyage, they having "heard but two or Three Days before of his arrival in England."³⁵ Within a week of his return, December 6, 1762, to be exact, Duché was formally received by the Vestry, and he entered upon a long and notable career.³⁶

Sturgeon all the while was possibly wondering why he too had not been approved by the Bishop of London, Richard Terrick. It was also the concern of the Vestry.³⁷ The answer was given in a letter of May 24, 1763, written by the Bishop to the Churchwardens and Vestrymen, and in it appeared this interesting paragraph:

I have likewise rec'd your Address in relation to Mr. Sturgeon, who hath undoubtedly act a very indiscreet & imprudent part in Regard to the marriage complained of; but as it seems to have proceeded merely from Inadvertency, and in other Respects his Character stands clear, I shall upon his taking the utmost care not to be guilty of giving Offence hereafter, overlook this Step of his Imprudence, and approve of officiating in the United Churches of Christ & St. Peter according to your appointment till he hath an Opportunity of coming to London to be duly licensed by me.³⁸

Unfortunately, this was not the only mark against Sturgeon. In July, 1762, a busy-body accused Sturgeon of not having catechised one Negro in the last two years, but that he evidently had not failed to draw upon his salary!³⁹ Eight months later Sturgeon laid before the Vestry a letter from Dr. Burton, charging him with neglect of duty and notifying him of his suspension of salary from the Society.⁴⁰ This touched him to the quick. He requested the vestry to appoint a com-

³⁵*Duché to Archbishop of Canterbury, Phila., Feb. 4, 1763, Lambeth Palace, MSS. op. cit., III, 295. A letter dated June 15, 1762, is a recommendation for orders by Rev. Chas. Inglis to Burton, Dover, Kent Co., Pa. (now in Del.) B. 21, Pt. I, no. 143.*

³⁶*Vestry Minutes, 30-33. See also letter from Duché and Sturgeon to the Bishop of London, Phila., in Peters MSS., VI, 2, Hist. Soc. of Pa.; and Fulham, 161.*

³⁷*Fulham, 159.*

³⁸*Ibid., 160 also see 159. In October, 1761, Sturgeon had performed an irregular marriage, much to his discredit. The incident provoked no end of trouble, considerable correspondence and affected his chances of being licensed as a minister to the United Congregation. See Lambeth, III, 243; 253; Fulham, 215, and 141 is concerned with affidavits in the case; and SPG. MSS., op. cit., B. 21, II, 278-280.*

³⁹*John Ross to Rev. Daniel Burton, Phila., July 2, 1762. SPG MSS. (L. C. T. B. 21, Pt. II, no. 219. Burton was the Society's secretary, 1761-1773. Ross seems to have been a trouble maker. See SPG MSS. (L. C. T. II, no. 271-272.*

⁴⁰*Christ Church, Vestry Minutes, pp. 63-64, under date of March 30, 1763.*

mittee to examine his record as catechist to the Negroes. Four vestrymen and the rector made up such a committee, and after a patient and thorough examination of the whole subject, they reported in Sturgeon's favor.⁴¹

This impugnment of his character drew from Sturgeon a long letter, written with great warmth, in which he intimated that Mr. Ross was the trouble maker, saying that Ross, "has been to me what the copper-smith was to Paul." He reiterated his services to the Church and fervently pleaded: "O Rev^d S^r make the Case your own, is it not hard, very hard. It is not the loss of my Salary that affects me. It is to have the Displeasure of so many worthy men as the Society consists of, it is to have my Name and Character branded with Infamy."⁴²

The report made by the vestry of the S. P. G.⁴³ and Sturgeon's own strong defense brought an end to the matter, but the controversy had had its ill-effects: Sturgeon was affected physically and mentally, and his temporary suspension had caused some of the Negroes to go over to Mr. McClennachan. He promised, however, to use his best efforts to regain his lost charges and "thro divine Assistance, use my utmost Endeavours," to carry on the Society's work.⁴⁴

In August, 1764, Sturgeon on several occasions intimated publicly that he was anxious to retire, and the Vestry on October 30, decided to "wait on him and know his determination."⁴⁵ To their request he replied in writing, on November 8, stating that it was true that he had during the summer thought of resigning because of illness and worries, but now he felt better and wished to remain in the ministry.

The next year the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon and Mr. John Hughes, a member of the Assembly for the county of Philadelphia, wrote a long letter to the Society in which they suggested that that body petition the King for several grants of unclaimed lands in New Jersey, islands in the Delaware, and in the Three Lower Counties. Such lands, they contended, would net annual rents sufficient to enable the Church of England to be adequately supported and would make possible the extension of its good work. They were concerned about the progress made by the Dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians and the "Romish

⁴¹*Christ Church Vestry Minutes*, p. 65 and pp. 70-71. See Dorr, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138. For testimonials see SPG MSS., *op. cit.*, B. 21, Pt. II, no. 280. Sturgeon on May 2, 1763, wrote to Dr. Burton on this same matter, *Ibid.*, no. 279.

⁴²Sturgeon to Burton, Nov. 20, 1763, *Ibid.*, no. 281. The *Coppersmith*, Alexander, I Timothy, 1: 20; II Timothy, 4: 14.

⁴³Dorr, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁴⁴Sturgeon to Burton, Phila., August 15, 1764, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 21, no. 282.

⁴⁵*Vestry Minutes*, p. 106.

priests [who] seduce the people and add to their own numbers, already too great." They urged the Society to petition the King immediately for such lands because there were several persons at the time taking measures to obtain the mentioned grants for their own use. Should the Society accept this proposal, Sturgeon and Hughes assured them that they had "some other propositions to make from which we expect considerable advantages to the Society's pious undertaking." In another letter sent at the same time, but written two days later, Sturgeon said that he had resumed the "Instruction of the Negroes both Adults and Children," which seems evidence enough that he was again in the good graces of the Society.⁴⁶

Just what other important things occurred in Sturgeon's life in the next few months are not definitely known. He was undoubtedly harassed in mind and body. He was very sensitive to criticism and at times showed an irascible temper. Several complaints were made against him by the parishioners and finally the Rector was asked to have a talk with him.⁴⁷ On February 17, 1766, the Rector placed before the Vestry a letter from Sturgeon which was given their consideration. In the Vestry minutes appear these lines: referring to the letter:

1) Sturgeon said he had not meant to give offense to the Congregation by preaching the sermon he had, and if it was delivered with warmth, its subject warranted it, he hoped. 2) as for his rash conduct on some occasions, he hoped he'd be forgiven for if any such thing took place it took its rise from a Mind disturbed by Indisposition of Body; which my intimate Friends and Physicians that attend me can testify. 3) as for not paying his debts—he had good intentions; neglect was due "not for Want of a Love for Justice"; but due to disability & hard times, a large family, "and perhaps too great an Anxiety to provide something for my Wife and Children, in Case it please God to take me from them."⁴⁸

The Vestry decided to take no action for the present, but the Rector suggested that Sturgeon be called in front of them to account for his conduct. In cross-examination Sturgeon became angry and left them, "wishing the Vestry well and that they might do Right."⁴⁹

In spite of this uncalled for action, the Vestry did nothing to em-

⁴⁶*Sturgeon and John Hughes to the Secretary of the Society, Phila., March 23, 1765. SPG. MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 21, Pt. II, no. 283; and Sturgeon's letter dated March 25, 1765, Ibid., no. 284. It is not known by the author whether or not the Society acted upon the suggestions of these men.*

⁴⁷*Vestry Minutes, p. 128.*

⁴⁸*Ibid., pp. 137-139.*

⁴⁹*Ibid., 139-140.*

barrass Sturgeon who stayed on as assistant until late July, 1766, when he gave formal notice of his desire to resign his position.⁵⁰ On Wednesday, July 30, he met with a committee at the Rector's house, and the next day he was given a certificate of resignation of his own free will—"not discharged for any irregular or immoral Conduct." A final settlement of £200 was made for his late services, but it did not include burial fees as that perquisite had been a private matter between Dr. Jenney and Sturgeon, and the latter would have to settle with the former's executors, not with the Vestry.⁵¹

Though Sturgeon had resigned his position in Christ Church he did not wish to remain without any duties. He moved to his plantation near Oxford and would have liked to officiate there when the missionary the Rev. Mr. Neill had planned to leave that mission. The parishioners, however, did not seem well pleased by what they considered an unwarranted presumption on the part of Sturgeon that he was eagerly sought after by them.⁵²

On September 1, 1766, he wrote to the Secretary, Dr. Burton, to tell him of the death of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, of Burlington, and expressing a desire to locate there or at Oxford. He wrote

I request the Favour of you Rev^d Sir to present My Duty to the Hon^{ble} Society and acquaint them how great a Pleasure it would give me to be restored to their Favour and taken into their Service and favoured with a Grant of one of these Missions. While I was in their Service I did my [sic] best, I could, and Should I again enjoy the Honor I hope God will bless my Endeavours with Success. My Reason for this Application is my Health is much impaired by long and Severe Duty in a City, and the Country Air is the most likely Means of restoring me.

I also have a large Family to Support and not much to do it with. And it appears to me I could do the Church and Religious Service in either of the Missions.⁵³

On occasion Sturgeon may have officiated at Oxford, but his request to be installed there was not granted. Instead the Rev. Dr. Wil-

⁵⁰*Vestry Minutes*, 147.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 148-150.

⁵²For an interesting account of how the Oxford Mission reacted to Sturgeon's overtures to succeed Mr. Neill, see Dr. William Smith's letter to Secretary Burton, Phila., Sept. 22, 1766, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 21, Pt. II, no. 254; also no. 126. Mr. Neill was at Oxford, 1757-1765. There is also a letter from Sturgeon to Benjamin Franklin asking that man's aid in getting the mission. See Franklin MSS. American Philosophical Society, II, Pt. I, 38.

⁵³Sturgeon to Dr. Burton, Phila., Sept. 1, 1766, SPG MSS. (L. C. T.) B. 21, no. 285.

liam Smith served as their minister, at least until September of 1767.⁵⁴ Just how he spent the last years of his life is not known. No doubt he was confined to his farm of some 350 acres, located between Frankford and Germantown, and about five miles from the city. The last year was filled with grief and misgivings. Early in January, 1769, on a Sunday evening, his wife died, a young woman of forty-three years of age.⁵⁵ Within less than two years, broken-hearted no doubt and harassed by many cares, he passed on, Saturday night, November 5, 1770.⁵⁶

Such is the meager account of the life and work of a man who devoted nearly twenty years of his life to the work of Christ Church, the catechising of Negroes, the superintendency of the Dr. Bray Associates' School for Negro children, the preaching in the almshouse, and supplying the pulpits of nearby missions of the Anglican Church. Men such as Drs. Jenney, Jacob Duché, and the Rev. Richard Peters are better known to posterity and did exemplary work for the Church, but to the Reverend William Sturgeon must go much credit for indefatigable work among the poor and the Negroes. More than one student of his work speak with high praise about his less conspicuous but nonetheless important career.⁵⁷

⁵⁴*Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith, ed., H. W. Smith. I, p. 56.*

⁵⁵For an account of his farm see *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1770; for the obituary of his wife, *The Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, January 16, 1769.

⁵⁶For Sturgeon's obituary see *The Penna. Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1770.

⁵⁷See Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (N. Y., 1915), p. 36—"he deserves to be recorded as one of the first benefactors of the Negro race;" William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (N. Y., 1935), p. 149; and Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, p. 216 (vol. VII of *American Church Series*, 13 vols., N. Y., 1893-1897, ed. by Philip Schaff, et al.)

THE FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN EACH STATE OF THE UNION

*Compiled by George Woodward Lamb**

SOME time ago the Reverend Franklin J. Clark, Secretary of General Convention, received a request from the American Lutheran Statistical Association of Decorah, Iowa, for a record of the first Episcopal Church in each of the United States. He referred the request to the Church Historical Society. Such a list appears never to have been compiled, or if compiled, never published. Since the subject is of interest and of some importance to others, it should be so to members of the Episcopal Church. The cordial and helpful co-operation of those who supplied data, many of them members of the Society, is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

A remarkable thing is that all except one of these *first* churches are still active. The Church at Jamestown, Virginia, dating from 1607, and the first church of any communion in the United States of America, was dissolved in 1812, but the tower still standing is a shrine to countless Americans. In recent years a nave has been added to the tower and the church is used for an occasional service.

It will be noted that two churches are listed under Massachusetts. King's Chapel, Boston, the first Anglican church in Massachusetts, became a Unitarian organization following the Revolutionary War. On April 21, 1783, James Freeman, a lay reader, was chosen pastor of King's Chapel by the proprietors. In 1785, under Freeman's leadership, King's Chapel espoused Unitarianism. Freeman, refused ordination by the bishops of the Episcopal Church because of his Unitarian views, was "ordained" on November 18, 1787, by the senior warden of the congregation. He served as pastor until his retirement in 1826.**

Many of these "first" churches have kept pace with the growth of the Church and are the largest and most influential parishes in their respective dioceses. The most conspicuous is, of course, Trinity Church, New York City. Eight are now cathedrals—in Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and Utah—all in the Mississippi Valley or the Rocky Mountains.

**Librarian of the Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street, Philadelphia—Ed. Note.*

***See, F. W. P. Greenwood, "History of King's Chapel," Boston. 1833. Pp. 135-145.*

<i>State</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Church and Date</i>	<i>Status, 1939</i>
Alabama.....	Mobile.....	Christ Church, 1822..	Active
Arizona.....	Tombstone.....	St. Paul's, 1882.....	Active
Arkansas.....	Little Rock.....	Christ Church, 1823..	Active
California.....	San Francisco.....	Holy Trinity, 1849...	Now Trinity Church
Colorado.....	Denver.....	St. John's-in-the-Wilderness, 1862.....	Cathedral
Connecticut.....	Stratford.....	Christ Church, 1707..	Active
Delaware.....	New Castle.....	Immanuel Church, 1703.....	Active
District of Columbia..	Rock Creek Parish..	St. Paul's, 1726.....	Active
Florida.....	St. Augustine.....	St. Peter's, 1764.....	Now Trinity Church
Georgia.....	Savannah.....	Christ Church, 1733..	Active
Idaho.....	Boise.....	St. Michael's, 1866...	Cathedral (old church as a shrine)
Illinois.....	Albion (now in Diocese of Springfield)	St. John's, 1825.....	Active
Indiana.....	New Albany (now in Diocese of Indianapolis).....	St. Paul's, 1834.....	Active
Iowa.....	Muscatine.....	Trinity Church, 1839.	Active
Kansas.....	Leavenworth.....	St. Paul's, 1856.....	Active
Kentucky.....	Lexington (now in Diocese of Lexington).....	Christ Church, 1792..	Active
Louisiana.....	New Orleans.....	Christ Church, 1805..	Cathedral
Maine.....	Saco.....	Trinity Church, 1636..	Active
Maryland.....	St. Mary's, St. Mary's County (now in Diocese of Washington).....	Trinity Church, 1642..	Active
Massachusetts.....	Boston.....	King's Chapel, 1686...	Became Unitarian in 1785
	Braintree (now Quincy).....	Christ Church, 1689..	Active
Michigan.....	Detroit.....	St. Paul's, 1824.....	Cathedral
Minnesota.....	Stillwater.....	Church of the Ascension, 1828.....	Active
Mississippi.....	Church Hill.....	Christ Church, 1820..	Active
Missouri.....	St. Louis.....	Christ Church, 1819..	Cathedral
Montana.....	Virginia City.....	St. Paul's, 1867.....	Active

<i>State</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Church and Date</i>	<i>Status, 1939</i>
Nebraska.....	Omaha.....	Trinity Church, 1856..	Cathedral
Nevada.....	Virginia City.....	St. Paul's, 1861.....	Active
New Hampshire.....	Portsmouth.....	St. John's, 1732.....	Active
New Jersey.....	Perth Amboy.....	St. Peter's, 1685.....	Active
New Mexico.....	Las Vegas.....	St. Paul's, 1879.....	Active
New York.....	New York City.....	Trinity Church, 1674..	Trinity Parish (Mother Church with seven chapels)
North Carolina.....	Edenton (in Diocese of East Carolina)...	St. Paul's, 1736.....	Active
North Dakota.....	Fargo.....	Christ Church, 1877..	Gethsemane Cathedral
Ohio.....	Worthington.....	St. John's, 1804.....	Active
Oklahoma.....	Guthrie.....	Trinity Church, 1889..	Active
Oregon.....	Portland.....	Trinity Church, 1851..	Active
Pennsylvania.....	Philadelphia.....	Christ Church, 1695..	Active
Rhode Island.....	Wickford.....	St. Paul's, 1707.....	Active
South Carolina.....	Charleston.....	St. Philip's, 1670.....	Active
South Dakota.....	Yankton.....	Christ Church, 1862..	Active
Tennessee.....	Franklin.....	St. Paul's, 1827.....	Active
Texas.....	Matagorda.....	Christ Church, 1839..	Active
Utah.....	Salt Lake City.....	St. Mark's, 1867.....	Cathedral
Vermont.....	Arlington.....	St. James', 1772.....	Active
Virginia.....	Jamestown (in Dio- cese of Southern Virginia).....	Jamestown Church, 1607.....	Dissolved, 1812 Now a shrine
Washington.....	Vancouver (in the Diocese of Olympia).....	St. Luke's, 1873.....	Active
West Virginia.....	Bunker Hill.....	Christ Church (Morgan's Chapel), 1740.....	Active
Wisconsin.....	Green Bay (in the Diocese of Fond du Lac).....	Christ Church, 1826..	Active
Wyoming.....	Cheyenne.....	St. Mark's, 1868.....	Active

BOOK REVIEW.

America in Midpassage. By Charles A. Beard and Mary A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. 849.

The Beards have joined to produce a truly monumental book. America in Midpassage is the most difficult kind of history to write—contemporary history—difficult because it lacks the detachment so needful in estimating the life it seeks to depict. But in this volume the authors have unfolded the swiftly changing life of the American people beginning with 1928 and covering a period of ten fateful years. Its sweep is amazing. With one conspicuous exception every phase of the national life has been subjected to penetrating analysis. On the political side it begins the story with what the authors call “the golden glow” of the Coolidge administration; the days of abounding material prosperity and smug complacency when the country at large worshipped at the shrine of the golden calf. The growing disillusionment of the Hoover period and his inability to stem the receding tide is vividly described, and is followed by a pitiless analysis of the strength and weakness of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the “new deal”. Financial methods, big banks and big bankers of the period get short shrift. Labor earns a balanced judgement. Not the least valuable part of the book is a comprehensive estimate of the influence on American life of the Movies; Radio; the drama and the automobile; and under the head of the “Range of Letters”, books, newspapers and popular magazines, as well as the ever widening sphere of science, art and philosophy. In all these matters the Beards have not only given us facts, but also an interpretation of the facts, and at times that interpretation is challenging.

There is, however, one conspicuous lack. Here is a story of the manifold sources which have shaped and moulded American life during the past ten years. But it is singularly silent on any adequate estimate of the part which religion has played in those years. For weal or woe religion has been and is, a factor in national life and certainly should be included as an influence which is making a serious contribution to contemporary life and thought. It would have been interesting to have the judgement of these trained observers on the range of religion.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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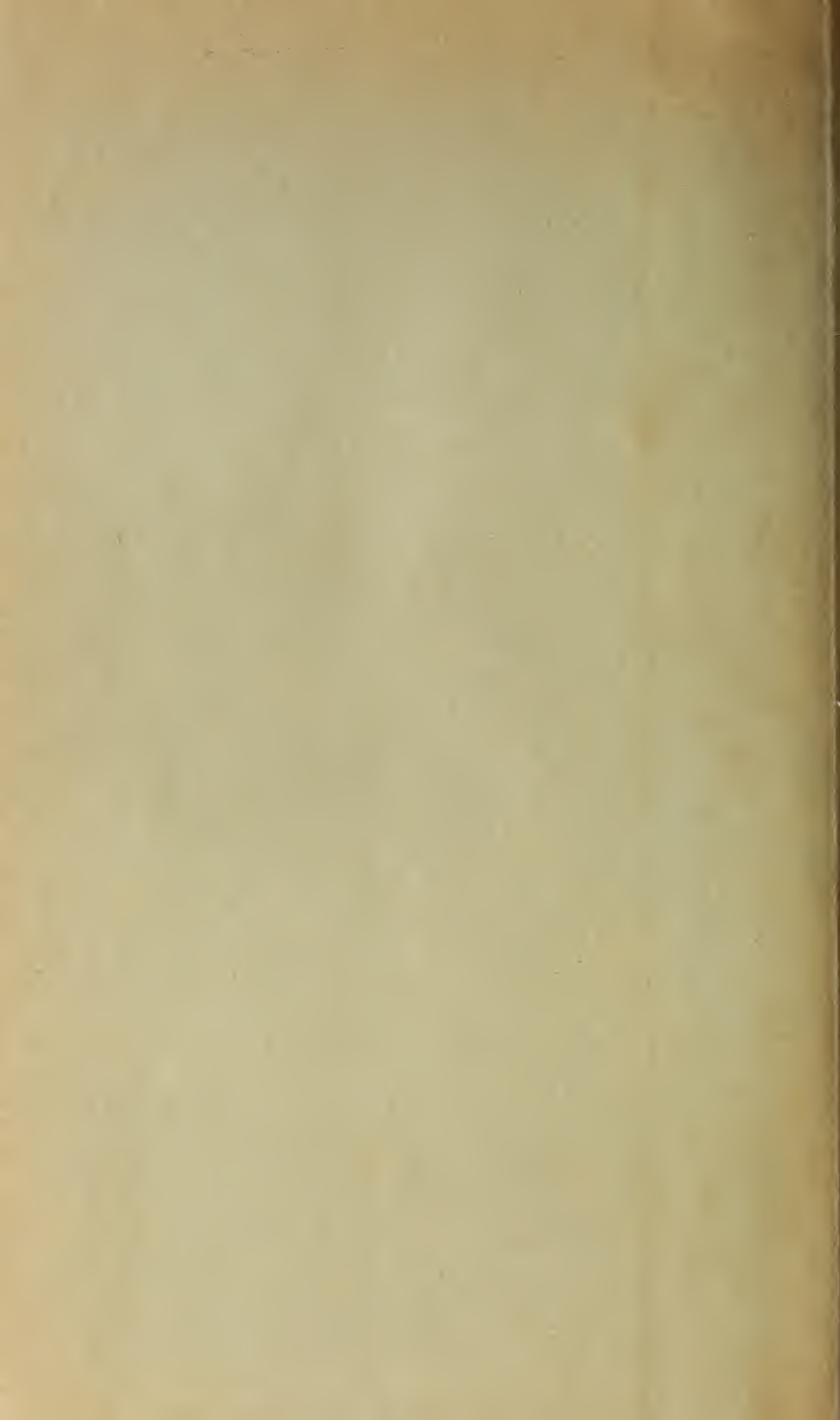
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